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SUMMARY OF NEWS.

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Politics of Europe.

We hope it will long be the boast of the JOURNAL to put the Public in possession of the earliest extracts from the most celebrated English Periodical Publications; for we shall always meet our readers with satisfaction when we can present them with such articles as those given in our late numbers from BLACKWOOD'S MAGAZINE and the EDINBURGH REVIEW. The latter is a work of such sterling worth, that its entire publication at a cheap rate would be a valuable present to the Indian community; as many, especially in the interior of the country, can only get a glimpse of casual selections from this great store-house of Literature and sound Philosophy. Even our pages can embrace a small portion only, without neglecting other urgent claims on our space: thus in giving the excellent article which follows in this and the subsequent sheets on the state of Ireland, we are obliged to exclude for the present various original contributions with which we have been favoured: and still we are unable to give it entire. The conclusion will be inserted at the earliest opportunity; and a resumption of our two Asiatic sheets will shortly enable us to bring up our arrear of Correspondence.

Aristocracy of Ireland.—We are glad to observe that the Aristocracy of Ireland seem to be at length roused to a proper sense of the abuses of the tithe-system. The majority of the Peers connected with Ireland, and of the Irish members of the House of Commons, have affixed their signatures to a resolution in favour of a commutation of tithes; and resolutions of similar import have since been voted by the Grand Juries of nine or ten counties. When every principle of justice and of political expediency, is in favour of this measure, and when it so strongly and powerfully supported by the influential classes, is it possible that it can miscarry? Is it possible that the clergy can have influence successfully to oppose the united voice of all ranks of the people of Ireland? And supposing them to have this influence, is it possible they can wish to perpetuate a system which has been productive of so much contention, bloodshed, and murder? But whatever may be the conduct of the clergy on this occasion, we are satisfied that the tithe-system is rapidly approaching its termination. None who know any thing of the state of Ireland can presume to deny that its existence is equally subversive of the salutary influence of the established church and of the public tranquility. Men of all parties, and of the most discordant and opposite principles, — Pitt and Fox, Emmett and Peel, Lord Reddesdale and Dr. Macniver, Wellesley Pole and Henry Grattan, Perceval and Paley, Adam Smith and Lord Londonderry — have all publicly acknowledge the evils of this system. The experience of a century warrants us in saying, that prosperity will be a stranger to Ireland so long as it is supported. It has no redeeming quality about it. It is productive only of pure and unmixed evil. Every part of it seems with the most scandalous and flagrant abuses; and its abolition would certainly do more to forward the improvement of the country, and to assuage the angry passions and feelings of the people, than any other single measure that could possibly be adopted. It is to purpose to tell us that a commutation would diminish the wealth of the clergy! That wealth is infinitely too great; and the sacrifice of a portion of it may perhaps be found to be the best method of preserving the rest. "I do not think," said Mr. Grattan, in a speech delivered by him in

the Irish House of Commons, 14th of July 1788, "that the riches of the clergy would be materially diminished by their giving up a portion of their tithes; but if so, is not the question directly put to them, which will they prefer—their *flock* or their *riches*? God or Mammon? For which did CHRIST die, or the apostles suffer martyrdom, or Paul preach, or Luther forbid? Was it for the tithe of flax, or tithe of barren land, or the tithe of potatoes, or the tithe-proctor, or the tithe-farmer, or the tithepig? No! The law of nature and the law of God abhor the claim of 900 or 1000 men to a *tenth* of the goods of 3,000,000 (7,000,000). A claim in the 7,000th part of the community to the *tenth* part of the property—impossible! Shocking!—And when accompanied with a subsidiary claim to superior sanctity, moderation and purity, ridiculous and disgusting—a claim against the proportions of nature, and the precepts of the gospel."

Greeks and Turks.—The friends of the Turks find their humanity greatly shocked by the system of retaliation which the Greeks are said to have adopted. The writer of a letter from Corfu, inserted in a late COURIER, narrates that a party of Turks having surprised some Franks, indulged in their natural propensities, by cutting off the noses and ears, and putting out the eyes of their prisoners, and then sent them in this piteous state among the Greeks, who immediately retaliated by killing what Turks were in their power. This act of retaliation the writer censures as an excess of which no Christian soldier should be guilty; and THE COURIER talks of the Greeks and the Turks rivalling each other in barbarity. Assuming the affair to have been as described, we much question whether there be any civilised and chaplained army in Europe, that would not, under similar circumstances, have adopted the principle of retaliation, a principle that has ever been admitted and acted on in war. What is more common than Military Proclamation, stating that the treatment of prisoners will be regulated by the conduct of the enemy towards his prisoners. Had the French army opposed to the Duke of Wellington put out the eyes of prisoners and otherwise mutilated them, can any one suppose that the hulk would have had so many occupants? It is too late to inquire into the christianity or unchristianity of retaliation. Whenever men, can conquer that natural motion of the injured, we may be assured that the millenium is at hand. But the enemies of the Greeks, while they vilify them as degraded and debased wretches unworthy the rights of men, and sympathy of humanity, seem to expect from them a display of the most romantic virtues—they decry them as men, and only blame them for not possessing the qualities of perfection ascribed to Angels. If these writers were to see two men striving, each to do the other the greatest possible bodily injury, would they cry these are men "rivalling each other in barbarity?" or would they inquire which struck the first blow, which was the aggressor, the robber, the cut-throat, and which defending his life, his rights, and his property? We have merely examined the account from Corfu as we find it, but have no doubt that such as it is, it is much exaggerated. Every disingenuous artifice is used, in order to make the people of England believe, that the Greeks are running a race of cruelty with the Turks; we find a friend by *profession* labouring to inculcate this injurious error. Mr. Sheridan, in his *offhand* style, at once pronounces the atrocities so nearly balanced, that he feels, or seems to feel, equal tenderness for both parties. To use

Mr. Sheridan's counting house language, we shall not be quite satisfied with the balance he has struck, until we see the items of his account.

American Depot.—The fact of the sudden removal of the American depot from the island of Minorca, in consequence, it is said, of a hostile feeling on the part of Spain towards the United States, has excited some attention. Besides the letter of the Agent of Lloyd's, we have other communications from Gibraltar (not of a date), which mention the circumstance, and state distinctly that the measure is regarded as the forerunner of a declaration of hostilities on the part of Spain against the United States. This issue is certainly not very probable, nor, if probable, very alarming. Spain may issue a paper declaration of war against the United States, but she has not a man, a musket, or a ship, that she could dispatch, to give to such a declaration its due importance.

Antipathies.—Erasmus, though a native of Rotterdam, had such an aversion to fish, that the smell of it gave him a fever. —Ambrose Paré mentions a gentleman who never could see an eel without fainting. —Joseph Scaliger and Peter Abono never could drink milk. —Cardan was particularly disgusted at the sight of eggs. —Uladislaus, King of Poland, could not bear to see apples. —Henry III. of France could never sit in a room with a cat. —A correspondent assures us, that the late Lord Ellenborough fainted at the sight of a Hone;—and that George the— could never bear the sight of an honest man. —*Scotsman.*

Description of a Runaway.—The following display of descriptive talent is from a United States paper:—He is about five feet four or five inches high, an acknowledged liar, a proven villain, a sandy-beared, red faced, blue-eyed, long-nosed, stoop-shouldered, prettily-learned, stultified, woman-hated, blue-coated, black-vested, gray-pantalooned, dandy-dressed deceiver; one of those pestiferous insects that often make their flight into the western country, destroying as they go their herbage of honesty, and poisoning the foliage of the innocent and unsuspecting, and then take their flight.

At the Levee at Edinburgh, the King kissed not less than a thousand ladies, old and young.—*Morning Paper.*

The alliance between Viscount Mandeville, the son of the Duke of Manchester, and the daughter of Lady Olivia Sparrow, is settled to take place in November next.—The Lady is an heiress; her fortune is 20,000l. a year.—The Earl of Liverpool has fixed upon the same month for his marriage with Miss Chester.—Mr. Baring's son, report says, is to receive the hand of Lady H. Montague daughter of the late Earl of Sandwich.

Bishop of Clogher.—It is more than rumoured, that the respectable Bishop of Clogher is in every possible case granting new leases in his diocese for the consideration usual in such cases, in order to supply adequate means for *otium cum dignitate* on the Continent. In proportion as these accounts are accurate, are the cases of the oppressor and the oppressed—the Prelate and the hackney coachman, still more admirably contrasted. We profess not to be acquainted with the episcopal rights in such cases, but if this hard-minded and brutal reprobate can calmly take the advantages which he is now said to be taking, we have fresh reason to admire the privilege of the priesthood, and its power in its own case of uniting that worship of God and Mammon, which it affects to regard as sinful in Laymen.—*Traveller.*

Poor Byrne.—We are gratified in having to acknowledge the receipt of a Bank note for twenty pounds from the Marquis of Hertford, for the unfortunate person, Byrne, who was prosecuted by the Bishop of Clogher.—*Dublin Morning Post.*

The Bishop of Durham is reported to be very much indisposed; the principal symptom, it seems, is *weakness*, for which the physicians have recommended the exercise of the *dumb-bells*.

A ludicrous scene took place on Monday. As one of the itinerant showmen was passing through Long-lane to Smithfield, the oxletree of his caravan broke, and discharged its cargo into the street. Several monkeys were instantly seen running in different directions, one of which took refuge in a cook's shop, to the no small discomfiture of the master cook and his hungry guests. *Pug*, without waiting to examine the bill of fare, placed

himself by a dish of ready-sliced plum pudding, and *sans ceremonie*, helped himself, and all remonstrance on the part of the cook could not persuade him to relinquish his delicious repast, until his master, by force of arm, dislodged him from the luxurious banquet.

Dearth of Litigation.—Great complaints are made by the lawyers of the rapid falling off in the business of the Courts; it is probable that few will sympathise with their distress; but singular as it may appear, there is a mode of reconciling the interests, of these gentlemen with the ends of justice, by means of either materially decreasing, or totally repealing the heavy taxes on law proceedings. There are certain plausible cant phrases which have at some remote period had their foundation in something like truth, but which continue to be repeated and received as gospel long after they have been utterly falsified by circumstances. Thus people talk of the doors of justice being open to all—a very well sounding assertion, highly flattering to national pride, but which HORNE TOOKE very happily exposed by retorting—"so are the doors of the London Tavern open to all, but you must pay very dear for what you get, and few can afford to entre." This is precisely the case with respect to our access to justice, the admission money for which, in the shape of stamps, has been considerably enhanced by the recent alteration in the currency. Were these taxes abolished, there would be more of those small actions, the absence of which the lawyers so much lament—that is to say, the poor man, if injured, would have the opportunity of suing for redress, and some chance of obtaining justice. As things now are, where a poor man's rights are concerned, the power of property is overwhelming and scarcely to be resisted. There are few acts of oppression that the rich may not commit in the security that the subject of them cannot afford redress. No matter how just his claim may be—no matter how flagrant the injury, if he has not the money to pay for a certain quantity of stamped parchment, he must consent to submit and to suffer. Justice is a luxury placed beyond the reach of his purse. It is nonsense to talk of these taxes as checking a litigious spirit; that was not their intention, and attorneys' bills of costs and counsels' fees will always, left to themselves, be sufficient to answer that purpose; the sole object was to raise money, and the means a matter of the most perfect indifference.—*Morning Chronicle.*

Public Experiment at Brighton.—On Thursday (Sept. 5) Mr. Kendall, the Manufacturer of the Life Preserving Air Jacket, which his Majesty has been pleased to honour with his patronage, made a public experiment of the buoyancy and efficacy of the machine in cases of shipwreck, bathing, &c. off the Marine Library. The weather was extremely favourable, the wind blowing hard from the S. W. brought in a heavy sea, and displayed the buoyant power of the Air Jacket to very great advantage. The men in the water performed various evolutions, holding both arms and legs in the air whilst floating completely above the reach of the surf. The Marine Parade was crowded with spectators and carriages, and the whole had a very imposing and interesting effect.

Pedestrianism.—Pearson, the Yorkshire pedestrian, was, for a heavy stake, to run fifty miles in eleven hours, on Pontefract race-course. He was to start yesterday, (Sept. 6) and he was backed at even to win. If accomplished, it will be a master-piece of pedestrianism.

Match to Salisbury.—Mr. Jenkinson, the pedestrian, started on Wednesday, (Sept. 6) from Kensington, to go to Salisbury and return to Egham, a distance of one hundred and forty miles, in fifty-six hours. The pedestrian did twenty miles in the first four hours and halted an hour. He proceeded on, and performed at the rate of nine miles in two hours, until he performed the first quarter of his distance, in ten hours. He touched on the skirts of Salisbury in his twenty-ninth hour, fresh and well; and he halted two hours, and left there at ten o'clock on Thursday morning, having sixty-four miles to accomplish in twenty-seven hours. He began to get lame at Basingstoke, but he had twenty-seven miles only to do in fifteen hours. He continued to do about three miles an hour, which left plenty of time to rest, and he won the match with half an hour to spare.

Ireland.

FROM THE EDINBURGH REVIEW.—No. LXXIII.

1. *Reflections on the State of Ireland in the Nineteenth Century.* pp. 276. London, 1822.—2. *Thoughts and Suggestions on the Education of the Peasantry of Ireland.* pp. 58. London, 1820.—3. *Observations on the State of Ireland.* By the Earl of Blessington. pp. 88. London, 1822.—4. *State of Ireland Considered; with an Inquiry into the History and Operation of Tithes.* 2d Edition. pp. 154. Dublin, 1810.

It has been observed by Mr. Home, that there is, in human affairs, an extreme point of depression, from which they naturally begin to ascend in an opposite direction. We think this observation must soon be verified in the case of Ireland. The excess of misery in which the people of that unfortunate country are now involved, the magnitude of their numbers, and their growing fierceness and desperation, will, at no distant period, compel that attention to be paid to their claims for a redress of grievances, which has been so long denied to the calls of justice and humanity. Ever since the era of the Conquest, Ireland has, a few short intervals only excepted, been subjected to a military regime. Laws of the most revolting and sanguinary description have been enacted and rigorously enforced. Instead of investigating and removing the causes of disorder, the rulers of Ireland have generally contented themselves with endeavouring to suppress them by force. The gibbet and the bayonet—those sovereign and infallible specifics of weak and vindictive legislators—have been kept in a state of incessant activity, and the whole country has been outraged and disgraced by the ceaseless recurrence of bloody and barbarous executions. But has this harsh treatment eradicated, or at all assuaged, the evil passions of the people? Has it made them orderly, industrious, and submissive? Let the late insurrection acts, and the inhuman atrocities now perpetrating in Limerick and the adjoining counties, answer these questions. Oppression and misgovernment are not the means by which the tranquillity of any country can be secured. Peace and prosperity do not spring from the sword. The experience of more than four hundred years must surely convince every reasonable person, that the system on which the government of Ireland has been, and still is conducted, is radically vicious and unsound. During the whole of that period, murder has followed murder, and insurrection has succeeded to insurrection, in one continuous and uninterrupted series. There are no verdant spots—no oases—in this moral waste. Whenever the struggle between oppression and revenge has ceased, the rival parties have employed the treacherous and delusive tranquillity that followed to whet their angry feelings and passions, and have never failed to rush with new fury into their unnatural and partricial contest. The incentives to crime have been suffered to gather strength and luxuriance—to scatter their seeds and spread their roots on all sides; and crime has, in consequence, become more prevalent than ever. Oppression produced outrage; and outrage was alleged as a sufficient reason for increasing the severity of the law. This again, occasioned fresh outrages, and gave to revenge a deeper and a deadlier dye. White-boys, Oak-boys, Steel-boys, Peep-of-day-boys, Carders, Caravats, Thrashers, Ribbonmen, &c. &c. have all been guilty of the very same excesses that are now perpetrating, and, without deterring others by their fate, have each, in succession, expiated theirs on the scaffold!

Is this system never to have an end? Are not the numberless victims that have been sacrificed—are not centuries of national degradation, distraction and civil war—enough to convince the Parliament of England that coercion, that mere brute force, is not the means by which the tranquillity of Ireland can be established on a solid basis? The Irish are not gratuitous ruffians. There is nothing either inerably bad or vicious in their character—they have the same feelings and affections as the people of England. It is the circumstances in which they are placed—their squalid and abject poverty—their gross ignorance, and the violence that has been done to their rights, feelings, prejudices and opinions, that have rendered them cruel, savage, and vindictive. The enemies of Ireland do not pretend to say that the present discontents have originated in political motives. Catholic and Protestant, Whig and Tory, seem to have been equally the object of popular vengeance. The present is, in fact, a real *bellum servile*—an insurrection of an oppressed and starving peasantry against police-officers, landlords, middlemen, Orangemen and tithe-proctors—against all, in a word, whom they consider as their oppressors. The wrongs and the privations to which they have been exposed, have driven them to despair; and in their fury, they have apparently resolved to wreak their vengeance, without distinction, on the upper classes, and, if possible, to reduce high and low to one common level of wretchedness. Is it not high time that a radical change should be made in a system of government, under which so monstrous a state of things has attained to a baleful maturity? When we look at the condition in which Ireland is now placed, are we not entitled to say, that the period has arrived when a serious and deliberate inquiry must be instituted into the real causes of the multiplied outrages and aggressions of which she is, and has been, so long the theatre,

and that a vigorous and persevering effort must be made to remove them? This is no longer a matter of choice, or of expediency, but of necessity! So long as Ireland was only occupied by a million, or a million and a-half of starving wretches, it was a comparatively easy task to hold them in servitude, and to force them to submit to injustice. But, thanks to the Potatoe and the Cottage system, Ireland contains at this moment nearly seven millions of inhabitants, of which, at the very least, six millions are in a state of helotism and extreme destitution! And can any man, out of the precincts of the Dublin Corporation, think that any number of troops which this country can afford to send to Ireland, should be able constantly to retain such a mighty and rapidly increasing mass of discontent and disaffection in unwilling subjection? The idea is utterly visionary and ridiculous. Although we were now in possession of the countless millions we have expended in upholding and securing the power of the Bourbons, the Pope, and the Grand Seigneur, we should not be able to maintain a garrison in every village in Ireland; nor would the dominion of that country, though it were a thousand times richer, and more fertile than it really is, be worth preserving on such terms. But if we continue our present system, nothing less than this will be sufficient to secure our ascendancy. And, therefore, if we are really desirous of preserving the connexion between the two countries, we must endeavour to render it, what it has never hitherto been, productive of advantage to Ireland. The Irish people—not the priests, corporators, and middlemen—but the people, that is, the cottiers and occupiers of mud-cottages and cabins, must be taught to feel that they have a stake in the hedge, and that it is their interest to respect the laws, and to support the institutions and government of the country. Until this be done, we shall look in vain either for tranquillity or improvement in Ireland. White-boy acts and Insurrection acts may repress disorder for a time; but they do not touch the causes whence it springs, and really serve only to give a darker shade of atrocity to the outrages which they alternately put down and provoke.

It is not easy to write dispassionately on such a subject:—But our warmth, on the present occasion, certainly is not reinforced by any party or factions feeling. This is a question far beyond the little hostilities of Whig and Tory; and possesses an interest which must, in all good minds, extinguish and efface the distinctions of Ministry and Opposition. The misgovernment and consequent misery of Ireland is chargeable, not upon the present Minister, but upon the English nation generally, and upon all the statesmen, of every persuasion, who have administered its affairs for the last two centuries. We entreat, then, that no one may shut his ears to our representations, under an impression that they are in any degree distorted or aggravated by party feelings. They are addressed, with all imaginable earnestness and humility, to men of sense and influence of all parties, and chiefly to those who have most power to give effect to our suggestions. If the Ministers would but listen to them, we should have no objection that their reign should be immortal; and, as we shall refer for our facts, in a great measure, to ministerial and official authorities, we shall endeavour so to word our observations, as to avoid revolting any of those without whose co-operation we are aware that no speedy or efficient redress is to be expected.

It would require a large volume to trace and point out the precise influence and effect of the various causes which have conspired to sink the people of Ireland to that extreme of poverty and wretchedness to which they have arrived, and which have rendered that country a vast arena for the display of the most implacable animosities, and of the most brutal and sanguinary atrocities. But, in an article like this, we can do no more than state what we conceive to be the leading causes of this unexampled distress and irritation, and the remedies which appear most necessary and indispensable to promote the return to a better state of things. Leaving, therefore, the discussion of the lesser grievances, and the details of many subordinate remedial measures, to another opportunity, we shall now proceed to offer a few remarks on the grand subjects of Catholic Emancipation, Church Establishment and Tithes, Government and Magistracy, Education, Revenue Laws, and Population. In the discussion of these topics, we flatter ourselves we shall be able to discover both the causes which have counteracted and prevented the prosperity of Ireland, and the means by which it may yet be restored.

I. *Catholic Emancipation.*—There can be no question, we think, that the master grievance which has depressed Ireland, and the great source from which the rest have been derived, is to be found in the circumstance of the government of that country having been hitherto vested in, and administered for the particular advantage of, a small minority of her inhabitants. The avenues to power and emolument have been always shut against the great majority of the people of Ireland. They have been forced to support the burden of an extravagant and corrupt government, but they have not been permitted to exercise its functions, or even to enjoy its protection. 'The government of Ireland,' said Mr Grant, in a speech that did equal honour to his head and heart, 'had never sympathized with the people: It had been supported by foreign force or foreign fraud: It had not been thrown on its own resources. There was a tendency in all governments,' added the

Right Honourable Gentleman, 'to adapt themselves to the wants and wishes of the people; but, from the time of Henry II. up to 1782—(why not 1822?)—there was not a month in which the government of Ireland could have stood without foreign aid.'* Previously to the Reformation, the English settlers, or those within the pale, alone enjoyed power and authority. The mere Irish, as every body knows, were held and reputed aliens, or rather enemies to the Crown of England, inasmuch, that it was adjudged no felony to kill an Irishman in time of peace!† Since the Reformation, and more especially since the breach of the articles agreed upon at Limerick between the Catholic adherents of James II. and William III., all the influence of Government has been engrossed by the Protestants. Statute after statute was passed, for the avowed purpose of preventing the growth of Popery, but with the real intention of rooting out and suppressing that religion. The Catholics were in consequence reduced to the lowest possible state of degradation. 'The laws made in this kingdom against Papists,' said Mr Burke, 'were as bloody as any of those which had been enacted by the Popish Princes and States; and, where those laws were not bloody, they were worse; they were slow, cruel, outrageous in their nature, and kept men alive, only to insult, in their persons, every one of the rights and feelings of humanity.' This picture is not overcharged. Until the latter part of the reign of George III., no Catholic, although the persons professing that religion comprise *six sixths* of the entire population of Ireland, was permitted to carry arms in his own defence—to acquire property in land—to land money on mortgage—to vote in the election of members of Parliament—to act as guardian to his own children—or to have the least share in the management of the county or parochial affairs of the district to which he belonged! Is it possible to render slavery more galling and intolerable?

This infamous and detestable code has since been greatly modified; but a good deal that is positively oppressive, and much that is irritating and vexatious, still remains. In fact, we have either gone too far in the way of concession to the Catholics—which even Mr. Ellis does not allege—or we have not gone far enough. Either we ought to have withheld the greater part of the rights we have conceded to them, or we ought to grant them the few that are still withheld. Bigotry might find some miserable pretext for retaining the Catholics in a state of perpetual helotism, and depriving them of all political privileges whatever; but having conceded those that are most important—having raised the Catholics from the state of abject depression into which they were sunk—having put weapons into their hands, and given them power and influence which cannot be resumed, why should we labour to destroy the value of the gift?—why should we still hold the Catholics up as objects of distrust and suspicion?—why, in a word, should we endeavour to perpetuate and enshrine all the odious prejudices to which the penal code gave raise, by withholding the few remaining privileges from the exercise of which the Catholics are still debarred? What we have already given up was valuable—what we now withhold is comparatively worthless. And the evil consists, not in the intrinsic worth of the privileges which are denied to the Catholics, but in the feelings of insolent superiority on the one side, and of debasement and degradation on the other, which that denial generates and keeps alive. It has been contended, that the exclusion of the Catholics from the Legislature and the Bench, and from Corporations and other situations of power and emolument, is not felt as a grievance, except by a few individuals! But nothing can be more erroneous than this idea. The meanest Catholic in Ireland knows that he is excluded from rights which Protestants possess—that he occupies a lower place in society. He knows that the penal code is not abolished; and he does not stop to calculate the precise value of the partial repeal. The Catholics, to a man, believe that the laws oppress them and favour the Protestants. They consider the restraints under which they labour, as badges of the triumph of Protestantism over Catholicism—of England over Ireland; and in addition to their own sufferings, tradition has preserved, and magnified the sufferings of their forefathers, by the plunder, confiscations, and massacres of English governors and English armies in former times. The Irish peasantry are possessed of great natural talents, and are full of intelligence. They are well acquainted with all the public measures which immediately affect their interests; and they discuss whatever aggrives them with a force of language which rouses their passions, and leads them to form the boldest and most desperate resolutions. There is a sort of Irishry about them which makes every thing English, and derived from an English origin, nationally odious. This peculiarity in their character generally escapes the notice of common observers; but the notions and prejudices which are grafted upon it, establish a strong bond of union amongst them, and teach them to look forward with confidence to the period, when they expect to be able to throw off the English connexion and Protestant ascendancy together.

* The Right Honourable Charles Grant's Speech on Sir John Newport's motion, 29th April 1822.

† Davies's Historical Tracts, p. 77. Edit. Dublin, 1787.

Had the Catholic code been totally abolished in 1793, these prejudices would now have been greatly abated; but enough of it was unfortunately left to preserve them entire. The Catholics believe that this code was framed to secure the conquest of their country and their own degradation; and it is not a cold calculation of what it deprives them of, because they are Catholics, that decides their opinion upon it, but a deep-rooted, though general conviction, that it debases them as Irishmen, and has sunk them below the level of Protestants. It is in vain to say that these feelings are not justified by the present state of the law against the Catholics, or that the existing restraints affect only the higher orders! The people judge practically, and not speculatively—they judge from what they see and feel, and not from what they read, or what may be told them. The anticatholic spirit of the Government has proved the bane of every successive concession. Real inequality has rendered the letter of equal laws a mockery and an insult. The marked indifference with which the bacchanalian outrages of the Orange Societies, and their continued attempts to disturb the public peace, and even to injure the persons of the Catholics, have been regarded, convince the latter that they continue to this hour a degraded caste. They feel that they are regarded with jealousy and aversion by those in authority; and they perceive that the zealots of the Protestant party are permitted, without molestation from Government, to treat them with contumely, indignity, and contempt.

'The word Papist or Catholic,' says Mr. Wakefield, the grand authority on all that regards Ireland, 'carries as much contempt along with it as if a beast were designated by the term. When the comfort or the interest of the Catholic is under consideration, he must always give way; for, although he stands as erect before his Maker as does the Protestant, he is yet considered as an inferior animal, and thought unworthy of participating in the same enjoyments. The Protestants are in general better educated than the Catholics; but many of them are still ignorant enough to believe, that their Catholic fellow-subjects are the *helots* of the country, and that they ought to be retained in a state of perpetual bondage.'

'That the character of the Irish Catholics is different in different parts of Ireland, has been already mentioned. They all, however, agree in dislike to the Government; and it is to be recollected that the mob, in consequence of their numbers, turn the scale to whatever side they incline. In one case they form the strength and security of the government; in the other, they become its most dangerous enemies, when the tie of affection is dissolved. Wretched and perilous must the state of country be, where oppression has excited among this class a general spirit of discontent, and where they look forward to a favourable opportunity, either of enlisting under the banner of rebellion, or of throwing themselves into the arms of the first foreign invader that may offer their assistance.'

The causes which have produced this irritable and inflammable spirit among the great mass of the Irish Catholics are various, and perhaps, unequally felt. Every individual exposed to oppression, is not equally alive to suffering; nor are general evils viewed in the same light by those upon whom they fall. But the grievances of the Catholics are considered as concentrated in one great political evil, which palliatives will but increase, and which can be cured only by emancipation, and other great benefits conferred by the liberal hand of a wise and enlightened policy. To emancipation their chief attention is directed; and although influenced by different motives, a conviction that nothing but unanimity can ensure success, unites them firmly together. Their priests, in consequence of their dependent condition, must yield to the current of public opinion, and sanction sentiments which they might be, under other circumstances, inclined to condemn.—(*Account of Ireland*, vol. ii. p. 570)

It is plain, from these statements, which might, were it necessary, be corroborated by a thousand additional proofs, that the complete emancipation of the Catholics is necessary as a preliminary measure to the restoration of tranquillity in Ireland. Without emancipation, the foundations of good order, of happiness and wealth, can never be laid. Ireland requires a grand overt act of such an intelligible character, and administered with such perfect impartiality, as will make every man feel that the great curse of that country—the Catholic penal code—is destroyed in law and in fact. It is worse than idle to expect that the mere recommendation of a gracious Sovereign—a recommendation disregarded as soon as made—or that any thing short of the full and complete emancipation of the Catholic population, should be able to eradicate the sense of self debasement from their minds, or to protect them from a continuance of the insults to which they have been so long subjected. The true *ferus nature* of Ireland, the Orangemen, are not to be soothed and patted into good manners. To render them harmless, we must begin by rendering them impotent. When we have pulled the lion's tuks, and paired his nails, we may safely lie down with him—but not before. The Orangemen ought not to be merely requested to forbear making an ostentatious display of their superiority; they ought to be deprived of it; and compelled to submit, with what grace they may, to see their Catholic country invested with the same privileges, and placed on the same level with

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themselves. This is a reform which ought to precede every other, and which justice and sound policy alike require. When complete emancipation has placed the Irish Catholics on a fair footing of equality with the Protestants, they will, for the first time these hundred years, feel that they are no longer slaves and outcasts in their native land. They will feel that the badge of their inferiority has been struck off, that all the avenues to power and consideration in the State are opened to their honourable ambition and that no overbearing and selfish faction can any longer insult them with impunity. The satisfaction they will experience, the positive good they will enjoy, and the victory they will have achieved over bigotry and intolerance, will make them regard the King and the Parliament which shall really emancipate them, with the warmest gratitude. The ground will then be cleared for the adoption of measures calculated to promote the prosperity of Ireland. The demon of religious discord will cease to blast and blight every scheme of improvement. The people will cease to regard whatever emanates from Parliament with jealousy and distrust; and will learn to venerate a constitution, which admits them to a full participation in all its benefits.

We do not mean to say, that emancipation will be immediately productive of these effects, or that it will of itself cure every thing. No such opinion can be rationally entertained. The mind cannot be instantaneously divested of the hatreds and animosities generated and kept alive by centuries of religious and political persecution. After emancipation has been carried into full effect, a considerable period will be required to allay and calm the angry passions which the want of it has excited; and it will require a still longer period, even for the most enlightened and zealous government, to carry into effect the measures necessary to raise the peasantry of Ireland from the abyss of poverty and wretchedness into which they have fallen,—to give them habits of industry, and to impress them with a desire to rise in the world and improve their condition. But evils which cannot be cured, or which it is plainly impossible for the best intentioned government immediately to redress, are always submitted to with comparative tranquillity. It is those evils only which spring from obvious and remediable causes, from the flagrant abuse of power, or from the exaltation of one party and the depression of another, that inflame a whole nation with discontent, and deluge it with bloodshed, barbarism and crime.

II. *Church Establishment and Tithes.*—Next to the Catholic case, the present overgrown Church Establishment, and the manner in which it is supported, forms the greatest obstacle to the prosperity and happiness of Ireland. The Protestant Religion is declared by the Act of Union to be the established religion of Ireland; and we have no wish whatever to disturb this resolution. But the Act of Union cannot prevent Parliament remodelling the Church establishment, or adopting those reforms which the interests of religion seem imperiously to require. The circumstance of the Protestant Religion being the established religion of Ireland, can never be urged as a valid reason why the people should be made to support a vastly greater number of religious functionaries, than the service of the Church requires—or that the tithe system should be deemed sacred. Such a monstrous doctrine would be subversive of every principle of improvement; and is suited only for the darkest periods of ignorance and superstition. No sound divine, and no reasonable man, will ever identify the support of the Establishment with the support of the many gross and scandalous abuses with which every part of it is infected. We respect the establishment, and we are anxious to see it not only respected but revered; but for that very reason, we cannot allow any false delicacy to individuals to prevent us from dealing plainly with the abuses which have drawn upon it so much odium and contempt. The real purposes and interest of the establishment, its capacity for communicating and preserving sound religious knowledge, its influence on the minds of the people, and its hold over their affections, instead of being weakened, will undoubtedly be immeasurably increased by a thorough reform of the abuses we are now to bring under the public notice.

The first thing that strikes us in the Irish Church Establishment, is the vast number of its dignitaries, compared with the number of the people committed to their charge. In England there are twenty-six Archbishops and Bishops, and in Ireland twenty two. But either there must be too few of these dignitaries in England—a complaint we have never heard made—or their number in Ireland must be altogether excessive. The population of England is about *twelve* millions, three fourths of whom or nine millions, are Lutherans, and members of the Established Church. But the entire population of Ireland scarcely amounts to *seven* millions; and we have the concurrent authority of Dr. Beaufort, Mr. Newnham, and Mr. Wakefield, for stating that at the very least *five-sixths* of this number, or about *six* millions, are Catholics. The remaining million, must, therefore, include not only the members of the Established Church, but the whole body of Protestant Dissenters; and, considering the number of Presbyterians in Ulster, we think there are good reasons for doubting, with Mr. Wakefield, whether the member of the Established Church, exceed *one twentieth* part of the population; certainly, however, they cannot exceed 500,000, or *one-fourteenth* part of the whole population. But, besides the twenty-two Archbishops

and Bishops, there are upwards of *thirteen hundred* beneficed clergymen for the instruction of this small fraction of the population! So numerous and establishment of functionaries is in the highest degree redundant and unnecessary. Those who are best acquainted with the state of Ireland are of opinion that one Archbishop and a Bishop for each of the provinces, could very easily discharge all the episcopal duties, and common sense tells us, that there need be no rector where there are no parishioners, and that the salary given to the officiating rectors, should have some reference to the number of their parishioners, and the laboriousness of their duties. It is quite irreconcilable with every principle of sound policy, to tax and oppress the vast majority of the people, to support an overgrown and superfluous body of established clergy. How, we beg to know, would our countrymen the Protestants of Britain feel, were they compelled to pay a *tenth* part of the produce of their farms, and even of their gardens, to enable 1300 Catholic clergymen to wallow in wealth and riches? Would such a system be tolerated for a single moment? And yet it is plain, that such an establishment would be in no respect more galling and oppressive to them, than the existing Church Establishment is to the Catholics of Ireland.

The number of the clergy is, however, of comparatively little importance. It is with the amount of their stipends—with the sum which is taken from the pockets of the people to be put into theirs—that we are chiefly interested. But in this point of view, the Church Establishment of Ireland is still more liable to objection. It is in fact a perfect pattern of profusion and extravagance. The poorest country in Europe is made to support fully *five* times as many established clergymen as it has occasion for,—and is besides made to pay them not *five*, but *ten* times as large a sum as would suffice to procure the services of an equally learned and pious body of men. In England, there are several bishoprics, not worth more than from 2000*l.* to 3000*l.* a year; and the bishopric of Llandaff is, we believe, worth only from 800*l.* to 1000*l.* a year. But the poorest bishopric in Ireland is worth fully 4000*l.* Mr. Wakefield estimated the revenue of all the Irish Archbishops and Bishops at 146,000*l.* a year; but the following is a later, and we understand, a more correct estimate:

Per Annum.		Per Annum.	
Archbishop of Armagh, . . .	£14,000	Bishop of Ferns,	£ 8,000
Archbishop of Dublin, . . .	14,000	Bishop of Kildare,	8,000
Archbishop of Tuam,	9,700	Bishop of Ossory,	6,000
Archbishop of Cashel, . . .	9,000	Bishop of Cloyne,	7,000
Bishop of Clogher,	9,000	Bishop of Cork,	6,500
Bishop of Dromore,	6,500	Bishop of Killaloe,	7,000
Bishop of Down,	7,000	Bishop of Limerick,	8,000
Bishop of Derry,	15,000	Bishop of Waterford,	8,000
Bishop of Kilmore,	7,000	Bishop of Clonfert,	4,000
Bishop of Meath,	8,000	Bishop of Elphin,	12,000
Bishop of Raphoe,	10,000	Bishop of Killala,	4,000
		Total,	£ 185,700

The greater part of these enormous incomes arise from estates belonging to the different Sees, and only a comparatively small part from tithes. The incumbents are restrained from granting leases for a longer term than *twenty one* years; but they have obtained an act of Parliament authorizing them to renew leases every third or seventh year, on receiving a fine or grassum. This system has been almost universally adopted; and in consequence, the *apparent* rental of the church lands is very far below their *real* rental. Mr. Wakefield is of opinion, that the estates belonging to the under-mentioned sees would, if fairly let, bring the following sums.

The Primacy,	£ 140,000	} a year.
Derry,	120,000	
Kilmore,	100,000	
Clogher,	100,000	
Waterford,	70,000*	

If this valuation be nearly correct, and it is thought to be rather under than overrated, it is obvious that the estates belonging to the Church-establishment of Ireland would, if put under proper management, yield a revenue sufficient for the support of the whole body of the established clergy. The real rental of the Irish ecclesiastical property, cannot fall much short of a million; and supposing that the plan of reforming the establishment we have suggested were adopted, and that the single archbishop of all Ireland were allowed a revenue of 15,000*l.* a year, and each of the four provincial bishops 10,000*l.* a year—for we would deal handsomely with these dignitaries—there would still be a surplus of at least 650,000*l.* or 750,000*l.* a year to provide for the rest of the established clergy. Now, the entire expense of our Scottish establishment, the efficiency of which has never yet been questioned, does not exceed 250,000*l.*, or at most 300,000*l.* a year; and if we consider that the number of persons whose spiritual instruction is intrusted to the care of our clergy is fully three times as great as that intrusted to the Irish, we have certainly a good

* Account of Ireland, vol. II. p. 470.

right to conclude, that 650,000*l.* or 750,000*l.* ought to be amply sufficient to provide for the comfortable and even luxurious maintenance of the latter. In point of fact nothing can be more palpably erroneous than to suppose, that the abolition of tithes would deprive the Irish Established Church of the means of support. So far from this being the case, it is clear to demonstration, that notwithstanding their abolition, that Church would still be among the richest, or, rather we should say, *the very richest in Europe.*

The patronage attached to the Irish bishoprics is a vast source of influence and emolument. It appears from a table given by Mr. Wakefield, that there are in all Ireland 2244 parishes, of which 1391 are in the gift of the Bishops, 293 of the Crown, 367 in that of laymen, 21 in that of the College, and 95 inappropriate, and without churches or incumbents. The Archbishop of Dublin and Cashel, and the Bishop of Cloyne, Cork, Ferns, Killaloe and Cildare, have the most extensive patronage. The livings in the gift of the Archbishop of Cashel are worth 59,000*l.* a year; those in the gift of the Bishop of Cloyne 50,000*l.*, and of Ferns 30,000*l.*. In the bishopric of Cloyne, one living is worth 3000*l.*, one worth 2000*l.*, one worth 1800*l.*, and six worth from 1500*l.* to 1200*l.*. The deanery of Down is worth 3700*l.*; in the bishopric of Cork there are two livings worth upwards of 1000*l.*; and in Killaloe, Mr. Wakefield says, there are many worth 1500*l.*. We have already mentioned, that there are about 1300 beneficed clergymen in Ireland, and, averaging their incomes at from 700*l.* to 800*l.* a year, they will amount to about a million! That the average is not taken too high at 700*l.* or 800*l.*, may be inferred from the fact mentioned by Mr. Newenham, that the aggregate income of fifty-six benefices in the county of Cork exceeded 40,000*l.** Mr. Wakefield also states, that, in Ireland, 'a living of less than 500*l.* is considered as very low.'

A landlord is entitled to spend his income where he pleases, and how he pleases. But we think the people of Ireland have a good right to expect, that those who receive such enormous sums for their spiritual services should reside on their dioceses, and contribute all in their power to promote the interests of the country of whose wealth they share largely. This however, is not the case. It is in the brilliant and dissipated circles of London or Bath, and not in the Episcopal palaces, that we must look for the Bishops of Ireland. Mr. Wakefield quotes a passage from a work of Mr. Eusor on Church Establishments, in which it is stated, that although the Primate of all Ireland enforced, in the summer 1807, the duty of residence on his clergy, he almost immediately after *quitted the island.* The Bishop of Cloyne was long a resident in Bath; the Bishop of Meath had lately a permanent residence in this city; and the late Earl of Bristol, Bishop of Derry, resided twenty years in a foreign country; and during the period, had about 300,000*l.* remitted to him from his see! We could refer to a thousand other cases of non-residence; but are not there enough to prove, beyond all question, that the number of Irish Bishops many be advantageously reduced? What are the duties connected with his See which the Bishop of Derry could discharge when resident in France or Spain? In truth, the Irish Church Establishment is not an instrument of Christianity, but of the most flagrant corruption and abuse. 'It is, says Mr. Wakefield, a *POLITICAL LEVER* in the hands of Government, with the power of which persons in England are but little acquainted.' Instead of being bestowed on men of experience, and of acknowledged talents and acquirements, as a reward for services already performed, and a stimulus to others to exert themselves in the cause of religion, some of the best benefices have been given to persons every way unqualified to discharge the duties attached to them, merely because they could command extensive political influence. But let us again refer to the unexceptionable authority of Mr. Wakefield.

'I have often heard it asserted,' says he, 'that large benefices ought to exist, and to be bestowed on men of learning and merit, as an encouragement to others to exert themselves for the benefit of the Church. But is merit and long service always attended to in the choice? Were I called upon to state the ages of some of the Irish Bishops, it would appear that these valuable dignities have sometimes been conferred on very young men. It may however be said that they were educated for the profession, and fitted for discharging its duties by a learned and regular education. But this does not seem to have always been the case; one Archbishop was, I believe, before his appointment, a *LIEUTENANT IN THE NAVY*; the Dean of Clogher was a Member of the *Imperial Parliament*; and the rector of a valuable benefice, was lately an *ALDE-DU-CAMP* at the Castle! many similar instances might be adduced; but I hope my readers will consider these sufficient.' (Vol. ii. 475.) We believe ours will do the same.

In the earlier ages of the Church, and, we believe, in Ireland up to the era of the Reformation, the Ecclesiastical Revenue, whether derived from lands, tithes, or other sources, was divided into four shares, of which one went to the Bishops, one to the clergy, one to the poor, and one to the building and repairing of the churches. But, now, the priests

swallow all. The Irish clergy are not obliged to advance a single shilling from the enormous funds of which they are possessed, either for charitable purposes, or for the building or repairing of churches. About 10,000*l.* have been voted this year for building churches and glebe houses, and for purchasing glebes in Ireland; and the aggregate sum voted for the same purpose during the last twenty years, exceeds a million.

A considerable part of the incomes of the beneficed clergy are derived from tithes levied on the corn, cattle, pigs, poultry, and potatoes of the cottiers. The vote of the Irish House of Commons in 1735, declaring any man a traitor to his country who should assist in a prosecution for *tithes of agistment*, or of pasture lands, threw the clergy, from the opulent grazier, and the Protestant proprietor, upon the *Catholic peasantry*—for the peasants are almost universally Catholics—for support. It drove them from those who were able, and who ought to have been willing to pay their own pastors, to those who were miserably poor, and who had a different clergy to provide for. The resolution of 1735 declared, in effect, that the established clergy should get nothing from the parks and demesnes of the Protestant nobility and gentry, the proprietors of the whole country, but that they might enter the garden of the poor Catholic cottier, and pluck from the lips of his starving family a tenth part of their scanty subsistence! And, is it really surprising that the peasantry should have revolted at such an atrocious system?—that they should have endeavoured to wreak their vengeance on their ruthless oppressors?—and that from the era of the Whiteboys, down to the present hour, the tithe system should have been the inexhaustible source of contention, bloodshed, and murder? The Irish clergy generally employ an agent, or proctor; who, immediately before harvest, estimates the barrels of corn, tons of hay, or hundred weight of potatoes he supposes to be on the ground, and, charging them at the market price, fixes the sum to be paid as a compensation to his spiritual superior. The parson sometimes leases the tithes to a proctor; and he again, not unfrequently lets them to another; so that the land really becomes, as Mr. Grattan emphatically stated, 'a prey to a subordination of cultures.'* In the south, Mr. Wakefield says, the tithe is let out and sold by public auction on the premises; and, in Connaught, he tells us, that it was customary to hold a sale before harvest; and to give to the highest bidder a license to collect the tithe! 'It is not alone,' said Mr. Grattan, 'the excess of exaction which makes the tithe farmer a public misfortune—his mode of collection is another scourge. He puts his charges into one or more notes, payable at a certain time; if not then discharged, he serves the countryman with a summons, charging him 6*d.* for the service, and 1*s.* for the summons; he then, sometimes, puts the whole into a *Kerry bond*, or instrument which bears interest; he then either keeps the bond over his head, or issues out execution, and gets the countryman's *body and goods completely into his power!* To such an abuse is this abominable practice carried, that in some of the southern parts of Ireland, the peasantry are made tributary to the tithe farmer: draw home his corn, his hay, and his turf, or give him their labour, their cows, their horses, at certain times of the year for—nothing! These oppressions not only exist, but have acquired a formed and distinct appellation—*tributes*; tributes to extortioners; tributes paid by the poor in the name of the Lord."—*Speeches*, vol. ii. p. 45.

'Those who are favourable to the tithes system of Ireland,' says Mr. Wakefield, 'assert that a farmer can claim the protection of the law against any illegal exaction or oppression of a tithe proctor. This argument may appear plausible to those who are not acquainted with the situation of the cultivators of land in that country. It may be true as far as the *theory* of the law is concerned; but *theory* and *practice* are very different. I have seen the practice, and I know that *redress from the law is out of the reach of the Irish cultivator.* His poverty precludes him from preferring his complaint in a Court of Justice. In Ireland there is law in abundance, and it is dealt out with no sparing hand to those who can purchase it; but to the poor man, justice is inaccessible; it is, however at the command of his opponent, who never hesitates to sue him in the Spiritual Court, while the clergyman, shielding himself under the act of his proctor, stands by a cold and unconcerned spectator, taking no part in the transaction! The consequence is what I have already stated—discontent, riot, and bloodshed. The poor, miserable, and ignorant cottier when thus oppressed, has recourse to resistance as his only alternative; he despairs of legal redress, and submission would expose him to ruin. In this pressing and deplorable situation, he gives way to the ferocious impulses of passion; he ranges himself under the banners of his associates in misfortune; and the whole depending on their united strength, proceed to acts of violence and outrage, which they consider as a just retaliation."—Vol. ii. p. 492.

Mr. Wakefield's authority does not require corroboration; but if it did, we could produce a host of witness to substantiate what he has here advanced. We shall, however, give one additional testimony, that of Mr. J. W. Croker, Secretary to the Admiralty. That gentleman

* Natural and Political Circumstances of Ireland, p. 233.

* Grattan's Speeches, Vol. ii. p. II. London. 1822.

is well known to be the author of the able pamphlet, entitled 'Past and Present State of Ireland;' and it is there distinctly stated, that 'in Ireland, the law is not a refuge to the poor, but a luxury to the rich. The Courts are open to the indigent only as spectators. The peasant, oppressed or defrauded to the amount of 10l., cannot buy even a chance of redress in the lottery of the laws for less than 60l. By victory or defeat, he is equally and irretrievably ruined.' (p. 48. Dublin Ed.)

Such are the Courts before which the poor Irish peasantry are dragged by thousands! On the 18th of March last, the House of Commons ordered that a return should be made of the number of tithe cases tried before the Quarter-sessions of the different counties, and the Ecclesiastical Courts of the different dioceses of Ireland, during the last five years. The returns since obtained have been printed;—but they are not by any means complete. The returns from the Quarter-sessions of Clare, Cork, Limerick and some other important counties, and from the Ecclesiastical Courts of Dublin, Derry, &c. have not been received; and it has, in most instances, been found impossible to separate the tithe from the other cases tried at the Quarter-sessions. Enough, however, has transpired to show the enormous and almost inconceivable extent of litigation, or, to speak more correctly, of legal oppression, to which this system has given occasion. It appears from the return, that no fewer than 3037 tithe cases have been tried during the last five years before the Quarter-sessions of the single county of Tipperary! In 1817 alone, there were 8054 tithe cases! The number of such cases tried before the Quarter-sessions of the small county of Monaghan, is not exactly ascertained; but it appears from the return, that in the course of the last five years, 2493 suits, being at the rate of 500 suits a year, have been entered by *clergymen and tithe farmers*! The expence in which these actions involve the peasantry, is ruinous in the extreme. We are told by Sir Henry Parnell, that a mere citation in a tithe case of the value of 18s. 10l., costs the defender *fifty shillings*!*

It will be remembered, that these cases are all *exclusive* of the actions before the Ecclesiastical Courts. Now, these make a goodly show. The same official paper informs us, that in the last five years, 158 tithe cases have been brought before the Consistorial Court of the diocese of Cloyne! 195 before that of the diocese of Cork; 228 before that of Down; 513 before that of Ossory; 203 before that of Meath, &c. &c. We learn from the same returns that the Consistorial Court of Meath rated the tithe of wheat land, in 1821, so high as 1l. 5s. an Irish acre! The highest rate, in most of the other Ecclesiastical Courts for the same period, does not appear to have exceeded 16s. The rate per acre charged on potatoes seems to vary from 21s. to 16s., 12s., and 5s. The average is, we think, about 12s. or 14s.

Such are the principal features of the Irish tithe system—a system which has paralyzed Ireland to the heart, and which has powerfully contributed to fill a country that ought to have been rich, flourishing, and happy, with misery and crime. The most 'saginary laws in the statute-books of Ireland, said Mr. Grattan, 'are tithe-bills. The whiteboy Act is a tithe; the Riot Act is a tithe bill;† the Insurrection Act is a tithe-bill. But the outrages they were intended to suppress have, notwithstanding, increased. No severity of punishment will ever be sufficient to induce men quietly to submit to such unparalleled extortion. We may send hundreds of thousands of troops into Ireland—we may erect a gibbet in every village, and fence every cottage with bayonets; but until this monstrous and complicated system of abuse and oppression be put down, the flames of civil war, and the inhuman attacks of the midnight murderer, will never cease to spread terror and desolation throughout the country.

It is affirmed, that any scheme for the abolition of tithes in Ireland, or even for their *commutation* would be opposed the whole influence of the clergy of England. But such a statement is altogether unfounded. It is impossible that the ministers of the Church of England can ever become the supporters of the abuses we have now exhibited. It is idle to attempt to excite their fears by telling them, that if tithes are abolished in Ireland, they must also be abolished in England. There is no parallel whatever between two cases. The Church Establishment of England is as unlike that of Ireland as Protestantism is unlike Catholicism. We think, with Dr. Paley, that it would be greatly for the mutual advantage of the Church and people of England, were tithes fairly commuted. But scarcely any one will say, that the number of ecclesiastical dignitaries, and of benefited clergy, in England, as compared with the duties they have to perform, is excessive; or that the services of so learned, respectable, and useful a body of men could be obtained at a cheaper rate. In Ireland, the case is totally different. A *fifth* part of the dignitaries, and a *third* part of the benefited clergy of that country, would be amply sufficient for the performance of every duty which the most conscientious discharge of their functions, as ministers of religion, could possibly impose on them.

But if it be deemed inexpedient to reduce the number of the clergy, and to abolish tithes altogether, they must at all events be *commuted*. We say *must*; for it is plain that the present odious system cannot be allowed to continue to propagate discontent and bloodshed. Various plans of commutation have been suggested; but the imposition of a *per centage* on rents appears to be decidedly the best. It proceeds on plain and obvious principles, and would always secure an ample provision for the clergy. Such a *per centage* should be made to affect all rents indiscriminately and an end should be put to the unjustifiable distinction which the vote of 1735 made between pasture and tillage lands. It would be proper to enact, that the *per centage* on account of tithe should always be paid by the landlord. Such a regulation would remove every ground of contention between the clergy and the peasantry and farmers, and would do more to consolidate the interest of the Established Church, and to make its functionaries respected and beloved, than any other measure it is possible to adopt, short of the total abolition of tithes.

III. *Government and Magistracy.*—But the total repeal of the Catholic Code, and the commutation or abolition of Tithes, will have comparatively little effect, unless the system on which the Executive Government of Ireland has been conducted, be wholly changed. She requires a national, not a partisan government. The Anti-catholic faction which has always predominated at the Castle, has never suffered the Catholic to derive any real or solid advantage from the concessions of 1793. 'It had been often asked why, in the case of the Irish Catholics, satisfaction did not follow concession. One reason might be assigned; it was this—'because concession was always followed by the curse of bigots in that country, which, like blight or mildew, fastened on the boon, whether it proceeded from Royal favour, or Legislative graciousness.'* Every thing liberal and conciliatory which the Cabinet of St James's or Parliament have done towards the Irish people, has been intercepted in its progress to them, and either stopped altogether, or sent forth under some illiberal qualification. The violence of the Catholic leaders, which gave so much offence during the administration of the Duke of Richmond and Mr. Peel, was provoked and kept alive by Castle prosecutions against them for meeting to petition Parliament; and by the efforts of a scurrilous press 'openly paid by Government for the most scandalous malignant and indiscriminate libels on the whole Catholic body.'† The circumstances which led to the dismissal of Lord Talbot, will we trust, open the eyes of Ministers and Parliament to a conviction of the necessity of doing away altogether with the colonial or deputy-government of Ireland. The people have been so long accustomed to see this government continually in the possession and under the control of the Ultra-Protestant party; and it has so bad a character amongst them, that they will never place any confidence in any act of Parliament, or any measure of the English Cabinet, so long as it exists. They never have derived any protection from it; and they will never look for protection to any other quarter, but to the King and his Ministers in London.

The communication between London and Dublin is now by means of improved roads and steam navigation rendered so perfectly safe, expeditious and regular, that there is no reason why a secretary of State resident in London should not transact the business of Ireland, as easily and effectually as he transacts that of Scotland. A Lord Lieutenant ought to be appointed to each Irish county who would at all times convey to the seat of Government intelligence of any symptoms of disturbance at the same time that he would serve to control the violence or rouse the activity of the magistrates and prevent them from being as at present either in a state of feverish excitement or of indolence and apathy. By this means the laws intended to conciliate the people would have their legitimate influence upon them and the laws for their coercion would be administered with the force and effect of measures coming directly from the seat of Government. By this means also, a most salutary reformation would be effected in the disposal of the patronage of the Crown in Ireland. The Bench of Bishops, the Bench of Judges, the Revenue department, and all the Public Offices would soon wear a different appearance, were the rules, such as they are, by which the patronage of the Crown is bestowed in England, applied in Ireland.

It is commonly supposed that Dublin derives great advantage from the residence of the Lords Lieutenant, and that the recel of these functionaries would be productive of its decline and ruin. But this opinion is plainly unfounded. It is impossible that so populous a city can be materially affected by the expenditure of 300,000l. a year! Dublin does not depend for its support on its being the focus from whence the follies and vices of a mimic Court are dispersed throughout the country. The foundations of its prosperity rest on a firmer basis. The Courts of Law, the University, the facility of conveyance to England, and the polished and agreeable society of that city, must always render Dublin a place of general resort; while the canals that connect her with nearly the whole interior of Ireland, and her advantageous situation with respect to the great

* Parliamentary Debates, 5th July 1820.

† The English acre is to Irish acre as 121 196, or nearly as 5 to 8.

‡ Grattan's Speeches, vol. ii. p. 49.

* Mr. Plunkett's Speech, 22d April 1822.

† Plunkett's Speech, 26th April 1816. Parliamentary Debates, Vol. 34. p. 40.

trading cities of Glasgow, Liverpool, and Bristol, must always secure for her a very large share of the export and import trade of the country. It is only necessary to walk through her streets to be convinced of her improving condition,—a circumstance which is now placed beyond dispute by the late census; which shows that there has been an increase of 4,421 houses, and of 53,821 inhabitants, since the census taken by Dr. Whitelaw in 1798.

The faithful discharge of the duties attached to the office of Sheriff is obviously a matter of the highest importance; but in Ireland this office has been most shamefully prostituted and perverted. Nominally, the appointment of Sheriff is in the Lord Lieutenant and Council; but, in reality, it always rests with the head of the party in each county who supports ministers. The whole business is transacted by the Sub-Sheriff.

'He is commonly,' says Mr. Wakefield, 'some attorney in the county, and is the law agent for all dirty work, and the ready minister of corruption. His employer requires no other qualification than good or substantial security; and although this office is one of great risk, and high responsibility, these Irish attorneys are always anxious to obtain it, and generous enough to undertake it without any salary. The truth is, every thing is done by a "Chamberlain's Key." I was informed from good authority that the situation of Sub-sheriff for the county of Tipperary, was worth 2000*l.* a year. In matters of arrest, a man might as well be sent to the captain of a Newfoundland trader, as to a Sheriff's officer; it would be an immediate fee in the pocket of the Sub-sheriff's who would apprise the debtor of his danger, and in return, receive the expected present! Where the higher classes are concerned, the common expression is, "What, arrest a gentleman!" I should not venture to exhibit a charge of this kind, were I not certain of the fact. I have experienced practical instances of this corruption myself, and I could relate upwards of five hundred that have been communicated to me by respectable persons.' Vol. ii. p. 346.

Nothing can be more disgraceful to the executive Government, or more derogatory from the character of the courts of law, than their suffering such abuses to grow up and flourish under their immediate observation. Lord Reddesdale, when Chancellor of Ireland, said from the Bench, that he found the dictum of Sir Edward Coke, that execution was the termination of the suit, did not apply in Ireland; for that the writ of execution there, led to endless litigation, by the attachments which became necessary against the Sheriff. We hope the Commissioners of Inquiry into the Abuses of the Irish Law Courts and Offices, will sift these villainous and destructive practices to the bottom; and not only expose the extent and iniquity of the corruption carried on, but propose some effectual remedy for preventing a set of profligate attorneys from enriching themselves by the sale of law and justice.

A reform of the Irish Magistracy, is another absolutely necessary measure. Mr. Wakefield reprobates 'the partiality, corruption, venality, ignorance, and tyranny' of the Irish Magistrates in the severest terms; and the charges which he brings against them, are supported by the concurrent testimony of the most respectable Irish Judges and Members of Parliament. When the question respecting the disturbances in the county of Sligo, in 1806, was before the House of Peers, Lord Kingston declared, that he believed 'the Magistrates were their real promoters.' And his Lordship added, that 'the conduct of many of these functionaries was such as to disgrace the Magistracy; and some of them deserved rather to be hanged than to be made Magistrates!' And Mr. Justice Day, in his address to the Grand Jury of the county of Kerry, at the spring assizes of 1811, publicly accused the Magistrates of the county 'of neglect, corruption, and partiality.'

Religious prejudices, and the Ultra-protestant spirit of the Government, seem to be the chief causes of the wretched state of the Irish Magistracy. The great body of Magistrates throughout the whole of Ireland are exclusively Protestants; and in the northern counties, they are not only Protestants but Orangemen, or violent supporters of the Orange faction. This partisan system vitiates and contaminates every thing; but, above all, the judicial character. A large class of the cases which come before the Magistrates in the capacity of grand jurors, sheriffs, &c., originate in the riots which are always taking place between the Orangemen and the Catholic peasantry; and with such Judges and such parties, it is idle to suppose that impartial laws will ever be impartially administered. What must be the situation of a country, where an insurrection act gives to such a Magistracy the power of transporting, without the intervention of a jury, any individual who shall happen to be out of his own house after sunset?

We shall refer to one more authority to show the wretched composition of the Irish Magistracy, and the practicability of reforming it. In a speech made by the late Right Honourable George Ponsonby, in his place in the House of Commons, 26th April 1816, he stated, that, 'when he had the honour to hold the Great Seal for Ireland, he had found that Catholics were, in point of fact, excluded from many of those offices they were by law eligible to fill. He had found that a Catholic gentleman was never chosen for a Magistrate. Not only the office

of Sheriff, but even that of Justice of the Peace, was invariably given to the friends of those who had political power. Such a state of things he had viewed as that which ought not to exist. A complete change he had felt must be effected in Ireland; and all ideas of making the officers of justice subservient to political purposes, he was satisfied, ought to be put an end to. On looking into the state of the Magistracy, he had found it to be any thing but what it ought to have been. He found among the Magistrates one who had been a waiter at a little inn, and whose office it had been to wait behind the chairs of the Grand Jury over whom he had been chosen to preside! He had found several cases in some respects similar to that just alluded to, and to these he had thought it his duty to supply a remedy. He had tried to effect a general reform; and he had undertaken so arduous a task in this way—he first wrote to every Privy Councillor and Peer in the kingdom, requesting each to point out to him, without any regard to political or personal feeling, any Magistrate known to them against whose continuance in office any fair charge could lie. Acting on this principle, the information he had obtained enabled him to effect some important changes. He had only been able to apply this plan to two counties before he retired from office. Enough, however, had been done to show that a general reform might be effected, and ought to be accomplished at the first favourable moment.'

Mr. Ponsonby left office in 1807, after being about a year in possession of the Seals. An Anti-catholic Ministry succeeded; and the Magistracy continues to this hour in the state it was in fifteen years ago. 'In England there is a vigorous and united Magistracy. In Ireland, the Magistracy is distracted by party and political differences, and there are many Magistrates on the Bench who, to say the least, never ought to have been there.'

We do not mean to say that the character we have now given applies to all the Magistrates of Ireland. In that country, as in most others, there are a number of gentlemen of character and fortune, who rise above the prejudices and party feelings which exert so powerful an influence over the conduct of the ultras of either party. But truth constrains us to say, that the number of such magistrates is comparatively few; and that the system which has been followed in promoting to the Bench, has had the effect of making a considerable number of them decline taking any active part in public business. This is a state of things which calls loudly for amendment. 'From Henry to George, the habitual weakness of the law has been the first cause of the habitual weakness of the country.' To do away this cause of weakness, jealousy, and distrust, you must give the peasantry confidence in the law, and you must render it cheap and easily attainable. To effect the first object, the Magistracy must be thoroughly reformed. The services of the clergy in that capacity, ought, if possible, to be dispensed with; the good they do is extremely problematical—the mischief certain and obvious. The Justice-seat ought to be preserved alike from being polluted by the insignia of Orange societies, and the presence of Orangemen. But no man's religion ought to be a bar to his elevation, provided he be otherwise unexceptionable. For the same reason that we would not exclude Protestants from the Bench, because they are Protestants, neither would we exclude Catholics merely because they are Catholics. It is not to the consciences of Protestant or Catholic that we object, but to the intemperate zealots of both parties. No confidence will ever be placed in the tribunals of the country, if the utmost fairness and impartiality be not displayed in the selection of Judges and Magistrates. In vain do the apologists of the present system contend, that these functionaries are not so corrupt, venal, and partial as has been represented. The charges, we think have been completely made out. But supposing them to be entirely unfounded, you could not, as the law now stands, convince the body of the people, that justice either is or can be impartially administered. It is the bane of the existing system that it gives a suspicious colour, an appearance of partiality, to the acts of the most upright judge.

'It is in vain, while penal exclusion exists, to preach to the Catholic peasant the doctrine of equal justice between Protestant and Catholic. As long as he sees the Judges, the Sheriffs and their official dependents, exclusively Protestants;—the bigotted portion of the clergy on the Bench of Magistrates,—their very bigotry, and propensity to intermeddle in politics, often forming their title to that office;—the benighted parson the judge, and, in the ecclesiastical courts, the sole judge of tithe cases, and of the numerous questions thence arising—often adjudging the claims set up by his own tithe farmer—it is not within the power of rhetoric to persuade him to rely on procuring redress from oppression from such magistrates. So long as the wretched remnant of the Catholic code remains, so long will it excite suspicions of partiality,—so long will every error—every accidental slip, and many such must occur in a country like Ireland—of the judicial or civil magistrate, be imputed to a premeditated design, on the part of Protestants; to trample under foot those whom such distinctions continue to degrade.'

• Parliament Debates, vol. xxxiv. p. 79.

† Mr. Grant's Speech, 22d April 1822.

‡ Reflections on the state of Ireland in the nineteenth century, pp. 53-55.

STATE OF IRELAND.

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To render justice easily attainable, which is as indispensable as a reform of the magistracy, you have only to repeal the worst of all taxes—those on law proceedings—and to reduce the fees of Court!—to dispense justice, instead of selling it at a price which none but the rich can afford to pay.

At present the Grand Juries appoint and dismiss the constables. They are authorized to appoint ten to each barony, and to give each a salary of 20*l.* a year, though they rarely give them more than 4*l.* or 5*l.* The unfitness of the magistrates for their duties, has had the effect of rendering the constables, on whose efficiency so much depends, utterly impotent. Instead of appointing strong, active and vigorous persons to this arduous situation, the constables generally consist of the lodge-keepers, coach-drivers, and other dependents of the Grand Jurors, who protect them when they are charged with being absent, as they generally are, from their duty. The consequence is, that there is really no active or efficient civil power in the country; and to the impunity for crimes, which is thus produced, must be attributed no small portion of those violations of the public peace which are daily occurring. The system of intimidation, upon which the people act, has the greatest influence. And until a really efficient magistracy, and a numerous and active body of constables, shall have been formed, it will be impossible to counteract the illegal combinations of the people, or to give that security to witnesses which is indispensable to the ends of justice. The direct, and, we think, the best way to effect so desirable an object, would be to cancel all the existing commissions of the peace; to appoint a Lord Lieutenant, a resident nobleman if possible, at all events a resident proprietor, to each county, who should have the selection of the persons to be put into the new commission, an instruction being given him not to allow difference of religion to have any influence in determining his choice; and to give to the magistrates so chosen, full power to appoint as many constables as they thought necessary,—to raise or diminish their salaries according to the duty they had to perform, and to dismiss them at pleasure. By this means, the magistracy would be purified; and Government would have to deal with a public functionary—with an individual of rank and fortune, who would feel himself personally responsible to ministers and the public for the peace of the country. The civil power would thus acquire a consistency, an activity, and a force which it can never attain so long as the present system is kept up; and we venture to predict that, under such an arrangement, the system of intimidation would be repressed; and that it would be comparatively seldom necessary to call in the military, or to have recourse to the dangerous assistance of an armed police.

The frequency of litigation might be lessened, and a most prolific source of oppression and irritation dried up, by making a change in the existing law between landlords and sub-tenants. We are not disposed to join in the clamour that has been raised against middlemen. In the actual circumstances of the tenantry of Ireland, sub-letting is unavoidable. But we think it equally unjust and inexpedient, that a sub-tenant, who has paid his rent to the principal tacksmen, should, in the event of the bankruptcy of the latter, be liable to be distrained by the landlord. Were this practice put an end to, landlords would be rendered infinitely more attentive to the character and qualifications of their principal tenants; and the occupiers would be relieved from that insecurity and want of confidence which at present tends to paralyze all their exertions, and to make them indolent and careless. The late Earl of Clare, then Attorney-General, had this practice in view when he affirmed in the House of Commons, that 'the peasantry were ground to powder by relentless landlords!'

No scheme for the improvement of the institutions of Ireland deserves the least attention, which has not for its object to give the people an interest in the support of the Government, to remove the existing provocations to violate the laws, or to secure their execution. Now, it appears to us that these three grand objects would all be materially forwarded by the adoption of the measures we have proposed. Catholic emancipation, by taking away all those degrading disabilities which the majority of the people now lie under, would remove one great source of distraction and of disaffection to the Government, and would induce the people to rally round a constitution which protected and secured the rights of all. 'Emancipation is not a charm' that will allay every discontent, or remove every grievance, but it is a *sine qua non* to this being done; and without it, no other system of measures can be entirely successful.* The abolition or commutation of tithes would relieve the peasantry from a most oppressive, arbitrary and ruinous impost. And the consolidation of the Governments of the two countries, with the reformation of the magistracy and civil power, would go far to take away the spirit of partisanship from the acts of the executive, at the same time that it would give the people confidence in the administration of the laws, and provide for their being carried into effect by cheap, ade-

quate, and constitutional means. Hitherto the dominant party have overlooked the real cause of the disturbances and atrocities of which Ireland has been the theatre. It does not lie in the perverse habits and inclinations of the wretches whom they have brow-beaten, oppressed, and sent to the gallows, but in themselves—in their own domineering, rapacious, and intolerant behaviour. If they reform their own conduct entirely, the poor, they may be assured, will not be long in reforming theirs. Let them bear in mind that 'exile and death are not the instruments of government, but the miserable expedients which show the absence of all government.'† Let them treat the peasantry as men who ought to be as free, and who have the same rights and feelings as themselves, and those disorders which are the result of religious and political habits and animosities, will soon cease to disturb the peace and tranquillity of society.

IV. Education.—But although it is unquestionably true that much of the turbulence and disorderly habits of the Irish people have their source in the political and religious oppressions to which they are subjected, it is no less true that much also is owing to their ignorance, poverty, and redundant numbers. The adoption of the measures we have already suggested, will do a great deal to promote the tranquillity and prosperity of the country; but, to render them completely effectual, they must be combined with others. A vigorous effort must be made to change the habits of the people—to wean them from idleness to industry, and to induce them to exercise a little more prudence and forethought in the formation of matrimonial connexions. We do not wish to understate the difficulties which must always oppose every plan which has for its object to effect any considerable change in the habits of the bulk of the people; but these difficulties are not insuperable. And the astonishing increase of population in Ireland, the habitual and growing poverty of the people, and their total incapacity to provide for themselves in seasons of scarcity, are evils of the first magnitude, and call upon Government immediately to adopt such measures as may tend to arrest the progress of pauperism, and, if possible, to lessen its amount.

Of the different measures which have been proposed as likely to attain this object, none have been more generally recommended than the extension of Education. But we are of opinion, that infinitely more benefit would result from the adoption of a *different system* of education, than can ever result from the utmost extension of the present system. The Irish are ignorant; but they are not ignorant in the common acceptance of the word. In so far as mere reading and writing are concerned, they are quite as well, if not better instructed than the English. But the schoolmasters of England, and, more emphatically still, of Scotland, are a highly respectable, as well as a most useful body of men. Besides instructing their pupils in the elementary branches of education, in reading, writing, and arithmetic, they have imbued their minds with a deep sense of the obligations of religion and morality, and with a just respect for the laws and institutions of their country. But such, we regret to say, has not been the line of conduct pursued by the greater number of the country schoolmasters of Ireland. They have not enforced a regard for the benevolent precepts of the Gospel on the infant minds of those intrusted to their charge, and they have sedulously inculcated, not a respect, but a contempt, for the laws and institutions of the country. 'Instead of expanding, the education of the Irish peasantry has served to narrow their minds; and instead of inspiring them with notions of morality, it has paved the way for the commission of every species of vice.'

'The country schoolmaster,' says the well-informed and liberal author of the "Thoughts and Suggestions on the Education of the Peasantry of Ireland," 'is independent of all system and control; he is himself one of the people, imbued with the same prejudices, influenced by the same feelings, subject to the same habits; to his little store of learning he generally adds some traditional tales of the country, of a character to keep alive discontent. He is the scribe, as well as the chronicler, and the pedagogue of his little circle,—he writes their letters and derives from this no small degree of influence and profit; but he has open to him another source of deeper interest and greater emolument, which he seldom has virtue enough to leave unexplored—he is the centre of the mystery of rustic iniquity, the cheap attorney of the neighbourhood, and, furnished with his little book of precedents, the fabricator of false leases, and surreptitious deeds and conveyances. Possessed of important secrets and of useful information, he is courted and caressed; a cordial reception and the usual allowance of whisky greets his approach; and he completes his character by adding inebriety to his other accomplishments.—Such is frequently the rural schoolmaster,—a personage whom Poetry would adorn with primeval innocence, and all the flowers of her garlands! So true it is that ignorance is not simplicity nor rudeness honesty.' p. 12.

* Mr Plunkett's Speech, 26th April 1816.

† Mr. Plunkett's Speech, 26th April 1816.

† Essay on the Condition and Manners of the Irish Peasantry, by Dr. Bell.

And yet it does not appear to us that either the schoolmasters or the people are to blame—the fault is not theirs, but ours. The immorality, prejudices, and disaffection of the one and the other, are the result of the persecution they have undergone. Instead of establishing parochial, or other schools for the education of the poor Catholics, we actually forbid their instruction. Under pretence of discouraging Popery, laws were enacted, prohibiting, under heavy penalties, any Catholic from teaching in any school, or instructing youth either publicly or privately! * It is highly to the credit of the Irish people, that their taste for knowledge was not altogether effaced by eighty years operation of these brutal and disgusting statutes. But their tyranny and injustice were too gross and glaring to render their rigorous execution possible. In summer, the children of the peasantry sought instruction from their teachers beneath hedges, in the open air; and in winter, they followed them to some miserable hovel. Surely, however, it was not to be expected that men exposed to so unmerited, and so intolerable a persecution, were to inculcate moderation and the forgiveness of injuries—-or that the victims of injustice and oppression were to enforce the duty of obedience to Government, and of respect for the laws! Gratitude is one of the strongest marked traits in the Irish character; and, had the schoolmasters been kindly treated, they would, doubtless, have laboured to promote the interests of Government; but, finding themselves persecuted and oppressed, they laboured to instil a rooted hatred of the English name and nation, and of the professors of the protestant religion, into the minds of their pupils. They represented the English as plunderers, who had robbed them of their lands, and reduced them to a state of bondage, and as infidels who had abjured the only true faith; and they taught them, that it was their duty to avail themselves of the first favourable opportunity for expelling the invaders from their shores, and for repossessing themselves of that property they had usurped. Every one who knows any thing of the state of Ireland, knows what a powerfully disastrous influence this early training has had on the public mind.

The laws prohibiting Catholics from teaching, were repealed in 1752; but the infection which they generated has not yet been extirpated. It has been sheltered and protected by the miserable remnant of the penal code. Men naturally hate and undervalue that in which they are not permitted to participate. And so long as emancipation is withheld, it will be worse than idle to expect that the Catholic schoolmasters should be sincerely attached to the institutions of the country, or that they should seriously inculcate a respect for them.

The poor and dependant condition of the schoolmasters is also productive of very bad effects. Their salaries are so small, that no respectable, or well educated man, chooses to devote himself to so unprofitable and irksome an occupation. Neither are the books generally used in the schools of the class best fitted to instruct and inform the mind. So far indeed from this being the case, they are, with a very few exceptions, of the very worst description. For the most part, they consist of the lives of thieves, witches, smugglers, and prostitutes, or of wild and extravagant tales; of books which either tend to inflame and strengthen the worst passions, or to fill the mind with extravagant and absurd notions of real life. It is an abuse of language to say that people taught to read only such books are educated. They are worse than ignorant. Their understanding is depraved and perverted. To learn, they must begin by unlearning most of what they have already acquired.†

We must say, that the Catholic Clergy seem to have been guilty of a very culpable inattention to the state of the schools at which their parishioners are educated, in not putting a stop to the use of these publications. Had they interfered with the spirit and energy they have sometimes manifested on occasions of infinitely less moment, it is difficult to suppose this demoralizing practice could have been so long continued. Certainly we have no right to expect that the Catholic Clergy should charge their schoolmasters to enforce respect for a Go-

vernment which has loaded them with degrading disabilities: But we have a right to expect, and we do expect, that they will charge them to discard the infamous publications now taught in their schools, and to substitute others in their place, fitted to improve the moral and intellectual qualities of the scholars. If the clergy have any regard either for the temporal or eternal interests of their flocks, and we are willing to believe they have both, they will certainly interpose to check so disgraceful a practice, and to prevent the seminaries destined for the instruction of youth from becoming hot-beds of iniquity, and nurseries for the galleys. The Catholic Clergy object to the use of the Bible in schools, unless it be accompanied with notes; and we are not theologians enough to say whether this is right or wrong. But if such be their opinion let them print a cheap edition of the Bible with notes for a class book. The author of the 'Thoughts and suggestions on the Education of the peasantry of Ireland,' and all other intelligent Catholics admit, that the poor of their communion are *completely destitute of all religious and moral instruction*. It should be a principal object with the priesthood to labour to supply so great a desideratum.

To facilitate the acquisition of really useful instruction, and to render the schoolmasters respectable, the Government ought to establish parochial schools for the exclusive education of the Catholics, on the plan of the Scots' parish schools. It is useless to attempt to organize any general plan of education to comprehend all classes of the people. The prejudices by which the Irish are animated, are too strong to admit of such a measure being successfully carried into effect. To give confidence to the Catholics, and to convince them that the plan for the educating the poor is not to be made a cover for a concerted system of proselytism, the parochial Catholic schools should be placed exclusively under the direction of the Catholic Clergy. But there could be no objection to the establishment of a Board of Visitors in each county, to consist of an equal number of Protestant and Catholic gentlemen who should have power to inspect the schools of both sects, and to exclude such books and such only as they considered of an immoral tendency. It would be of the greatest advantage were a few of the elementary Principles of Political Economy taught in these schools. Nothing would contribute more to check the alarming increase of a redundant population, and to stem the torrent of pauperism, than to point out and explain to the peasantry the misery and ruin that improvident and premature marriages must infallibly entail on themselves.

There is no country in which larger sums have been expended ostensibly for the purposes of education than Ireland. Seven royal schools were founded by Charles I., and endowed with large estates by Charles II. But the funds have, in most cases, been perverted to very different purpose from the education of youth. Dr. Bell mentions that he knew one of the schools, from which the master, a beneficed clergyman, who never went near it, received 15000*l.* a year, while the usher, a man of learning, who did all the duty, received only 40*l.* Neither does it appear that the state of these schools has been improved since. The estates belonging to them are generally let far below their real value and the rents are principally divided among nominal or honorary masters. When Mr. Wakefield was in Ireland, the rental of the estates belonging to the Cavan school amounted to 900*l.* a year, but there was not a single scholar.

'Who,' asks Mr. Wakefield, 'will talk of lower orders after such an exposure as this?'

Besides the royal schools, there are thirty nine *charter schools*. These schools were founded in 1733, for the laudable purpose of instructing the Popish and other poor natives in the English tongue. But the religious prejudices of the Ultra Protestants, to whom the charge of these establishments was committed, have produced a total failure in the objects for which they were avowedly intended. Their real object has been to make proselytes, not scholars. But instead of accomplishing this object, they have made only enemies; and their proceedings have tended, in no slight degree, to exasperate the different sects against each other. They have always been regarded with peculiar aversion by the Catholics. We are told by Mr. Wakefield, that the lower class of Catholics seldom pass one of these schools without giving vent to their feelings in curses and execrations. Nor can it be denied that they have had pretty good grounds for their disgust. Mr. Wakefield has given the following extract from a Catechism which was very lately, if it be not still, in use in the charter schools.

Q. Is the Church of Rome a sound and uncorrupt Church?

A. No. It is extremely corrupt in doctrine and practice.

Q. What do you think of the frequent crossings upon which the Papists lay so great a stress?

* Condition and Manners of the Irish peasantry, p. 43.

* 7th William III. cap. 4. § 9. ; 8th Anne cap. 3 § 16.

† Mr. Wakefield has given (vol. ii. p. 400) a list of some of the common school and cottage classics of Ireland. It contains, amongst others, the 'History of the Seven Champions of Christendom'; 'History of Fair Rosamond and Jane Shore,' two prostitutes; 'Ovid's Art of Love'; 'Devil and Dr. Faustus'; 'Moll Flanders'; 'Mendoza's New System of Boxing'; 'History of Donna Rozna,' a Spanish prostitute, &c. &c. Mr. Wakefield's censure has not abated the nuisance. In the debate on Sir John Newport's motion, 22d April, Mr. Spring Rice stated there were 8000 schoolmasters in Ireland. Among these, however, he was sorry to say there existed much mischief. In some of the schools he knew pernicious books were used. In one instance he had found that the *text book* for the boys was the history of a famous robber, the Captain Rock of some fifty years ago. Mr. Grant corroborated Mr. Rice's statements. 'The schoolmasters and the books,' he observed, 'were of the very worst species.'

A. They are vain and superstitious. The worship of the Crucifixion, or figure of Christ upon the Cross, is idolatrous; and the adoring and praying to the Cross itself is of all the corruptions of the Popish worship the most gross and intolerable.

'I am persuaded,' says Mr. Wakefield, 'that it is impossible for any but a member of the Church of Rome to judge of the feelings of a parent of that sect, who knows that his child is brought up to abhor and condemn every rite which he has been taught to venerate. (Vol. ii. p. 412.)

The support of these nurseries of bigotry and intolerance costs the public upward of 30,000*l.* a year, besides about 10,000*l.* a year derived from private sources. They are supposed to have, on an average, about 2000 scholars, which gives an annual expense of 20*l.* a year for each.

In addition to these establishments, there are twenty diocesan schools with considerable revenues; thirty-three publicly endowed classical schools with a revenue of about 9000*l.* a year; fourteen classical schools endowed by individuals, two of which are possessed of estates yielding an annual revenue of about 1500*l.* a year; four classical schools, on the endowment of Erasmus Smith, with a revenue of 4000*l.* a year; and vast number of schools on private foundations, some of them with large revenues, for instruction in English, writing, &c. If to these we add the sums expended on the Blue coat Hospital, and the Hibernian Schools at Dublin, &c., it will be seen that there are in Ireland ample funds, had they been properly administered, to have provided for the instruction of a large proportion of the people. But most of these funds have been wholly misapplied and perverted; and the late extension of education has been chiefly owing to the laudable efforts of the various benevolent associations for providing for the instruction of the Irish poor. Altogether, there are at present in Ireland, no fewer than 8000 schools of all descriptions, which are supposed to be attended by about 400,000 scholars.*

But, great as have been the efforts of these societies, nothing short of the establishment of Catholic parochial schools, on some such plan as we have already suggested, will ever secure a proper system of education for the Irish people. Something of degradation must always attach to the idea of being educated in a school which is wholly, or even partially, supported by charitable contributions. The parents of the children who attend such schools, and even the children themselves, cannot but feel that they are there only because they are paupers, dependent on the bounty of others; and this feeling has a strong tendency to destroy that sense of manly independence, of moral dignity, and of self-respect, for the want of which no education can compensate. We would not have the people of Ireland educated by an eleemosynary system, but by such a system as is established in this country. We would bring education within their reach. We would do this, however, not by beating up for alms in every corner of the kingdom, but by a grand legislative measure, establishing public, and not charity, schools in every parish, where both poor and rich would be placed on a footing of equality, and where the fees would be moderate.

Besides the grants already mentioned, Government gives 8000*l.* or 9000*l.* a year towards the support of the Catholic College at Maynooth. This establishment is of the greatest utility. It has prevented the Catholic youth destined for the Church from seeking their education in foreign countries, and must thereby have prevented their imbibing many prejudices hostile to the public interests. The grant from Government only affords a pittance of about 25*l.* or 30*l.* to each Professor, and an allowance of about as much to each student. The students, who amount to about 250, have to pay 9*l.* 2*s.* of entry-money, and to provide themselves with clothes, books, &c. Considering the vast importance of having the Catholic priesthood well educated, and considering also the great poverty of that body, we certainly think that the grant given by Government to this College ought to be greatly increased. We despise the miserable economy of those who would save a few thousand pounds, by stinting the education of those who are to be the instructors and spiritual guides of so large a proportion of the people. But the grant to Maynooth might be sufficiently increased, without costing the public a single additional sixpence. Now that the folly of the attempts at proselytism has become obvious, there can be no reason whatever for continuing the grant to the charter schools. The suppression of these seminaries would, in fact, be a very great advantage. They never have been, and they never will be, productive of the smallest benefit; and their suppression would disengage a sum of 30,000*l.* a year, which might be applied in aid of the College of Maynooth, and for other purposes.

V. Revenue Laws.—But however confident we may feel that such a change in the system of education as we have suggested, would lead to a material and salutary change in the habits of the people, we should rely much more on the consequences that would result from giving them a greater command over the luxuries and conveniences of life. The rate

of wages, which must always be mainly regulated by the cost of producing the principal necessities consumed by the labourers, is, in Ireland, determined by the lowest possible standard. An unfortunate train of circumstances has brought the Irish peasantry to an habitual, and almost exclusive dependence on the potatoe for the principal part of their food. They have few or no artificial wants—provided they are able to obtain a sufficient supply of potatoes, they are content to vegetate in rags and wretchedness. But as the potatoe is raised at less expence than any other species of food hitherto cultivated in Europe, and as wages are principally determined by the cost of its production, it is easy to see that the peasantry must be reduced to a state of extreme and almost irremediable distress whenever that crop happens to be deficient. When wheat and beef constitute the principal part of the food of the labourer, and porter and beer the principal part of his drink; he can, in a period of scarcity, *bear to retrench*. Such a man has room to fall,—he can resort to cheaper articles—to barley, oats, rice, and potatoes. But when he is habitually and constantly fed on the very cheapest species of food, he has plainly nothing to resort to when deprived of it. The labourers, who are placed in such circumstances, are absolutely cut off from every resource. They are already so low, they can fall no lower. They are placed on the very verge of existence. Their wages being regulated by the price of potatoes, will not buy them wheat, or barley, or oats; and whenever, therefore, the supply of potatoes fails, it is next to impossible they can escape falling a sacrifice to famine.

The present state of Ireland furnishes a striking and melancholy proof of the accuracy of this statement. Owing to the failure of last potatoe crop, a very large proportion of the peasantry of Clare, Limerick, and other counties bordering on the Shannon, have been reduced to a state little short of absolute famine. But there was, notwithstanding, a continued exportation of oats, and other grain from Ireland to this country, up to the very moment when the contributions of Government, and of the public were applied to purchase corn for the peasantry. The price of potatoes rose in Limerick, in the course of a few months from 1*½*d. to 6d. and 8d. a stone, being a rise of 400 or 500 per cent., while the price of corn sustained no material increase; none, at least, to prevent its being sent to the overroaded markets of England! It is obvious indeed, that, to whatever extremity the peasantry of Ireland might have been reduced, they could not have relieved themselves by purchasing corn. In a period of scarcity, men cannot go from a low to a high level; they must always go from a higher to a lower. But to the Irish this is impossible; they have already reached the lowest point in the descending scale; and death is to them attended with all the horrors of famine!

It is absolutely necessary that a great and persevering effort should be made to raise the Irish from this hopeless and wretched condition. And nothing would contribute so much to this, as to inspire them with a taste for the comforts and conveniences of life. But to do this, you must place them within their reach—you must render them attainable with a moderate degree of exertion. Those who are indolent—and this is notoriously the case with the Irish—will never become industrious, unless industry brings visibly along with it a proportionate increase of enjoyments. Wherever labourers find it impossible for increased exertion to procure any material addition of comforts and conveniences, they necessarily sink into a state of sluggish and stupid indifference, and content themselves with the coarsest and scantiest fare. But the desire to rise in the world, and to improve our condition, is deeply implanted in the human breast, and can never be wholly eradicated. And whenever labour has been rendered more productive, and a number of new conveniences and enjoyments made attainable by the labourers, indolence has never failed to give way to exertion. A taste for these conveniences and enjoyments gradually diffuses itself, increased exertions are made to obtain them, and ultimately it is thought discreditible to be without them.

Such being the case, it is a fortunate circumstance that it is in the power of Government to adopt such measures as will, by reducing the price of a vast variety of useful and agreeable commodities, afford new motives to stimulate, and new comforts and conveniences to reward, the industry of the peasantry of Ireland. To effect this most desirable object they have only to repeal those oppressive and absurd taxes, which have deprived the bulk of the people of the few comforts they were already possessed of, and of the possibility of obtaining others, without adding a single shilling to the revenue. We showed in our last Number, that notwithstanding taxes, estimated to produce *three millions*, had been imposed in Ireland since 1807, the revenue of that year amounted to 4,191,950*l.*, while that of 1821 only amounted to 3,844,839*l.*, being a decrease of 347,061*l.*, instead of a rise of three millions! We also gave a list of thirteen principal articles, including spirits, tea, sugar, tobacco, coffee, wines, &c., the duties on which have been greatly increased, at the same time that the revenue, and, still more, the quantities consumed, have fallen off in an extraordinary degree. There can be no question, indeed, that this unparalleled and ruinous increase of taxation is one of the main causes of the present squalid and adject poverty of the Irish peasantry. The enormous addition which it has made to the price of almost every

* Mr. Grant's Speech, 22d April 1822.

article of luxury, if we may give that name to teas, sugars, spirits, &c., has rendered them either wholly unattainable by the labourer, or attainable only from the smuggler. A double injury has thus been done to the country. A principal incitement to laborious perseverance and honest industry has been taken away, and an irresistible inducement has been held out to the adventurous and the profligate to embark in the illegal and destructive trade of smuggling. 'The iron grasp of poverty has paralysed the arm of the tax-gatherer, and set at naught the vaunted omnipotence of Parliament. You have taxed the people, but not augmented the supplies— you have drawn on capital, not on income—and you have, in consequence, reaped a harvest of discontent and disaffection, instead of a harvest of revenue.'*

This monstrous system must be abandoned. There are good grounds for thinking that the revenue will gain,—at all events it cannot possibly lose any thing; by the repeal of every tax imposed since 1807; while the fall that would be thereby occasioned in the price of most of those comforts, on which the peasantry set a very high value, would infallibly rouse them to enterprise and activity. The public taste would thus be elevated. The labourers would gradually begin to acquire higher notions of what is necessary for their comfortable and decent subsistence. Their artificial wants would begin to be equally clamorous, and much more numerous than those of mere necessity; and perseverance and animation would, in consequence, be given to all the operations of industry.

Nor is it of less importance, with a view to the peace and tranquillity of the country in general, that the opinions of the labourers, respecting what is necessary for their comfortable and decent subsistence, should be elevated. When a revolution takes place in any of the great departments of industry, or when the crops fail, the labourer who smokes tobacco, and who drinks beer, porter, and gin, can, by parting with his luxuries, obtain a sufficient supply of necessities. But a man who is divested of all artificial wants—who is confined to mere necessities—who is never seen in an alehouse nor a tobacco-shop—has nothing to part with! What then must be the fate of those who are placed so very near the verge of existence,—and what must be the fate of the richer class of citizens, if there be any such amongst them, in a season of scarcity? Do you suppose that it is possible for human beings, placed in such dreadful circumstances, to be quiet, orderly, and peaceable, and to respect the rights of others? Do you suppose that those who have no property will submit to be starved, without previously attempting to seize on the poverty of others? Whatever may be said to the contrary, famine, and the virtues of patience and resignation, are not, you may depend upon it, on very companionable terms. Much undoubtedly of the crime and bloodshed with which Ireland has been so long disgraced and deluged, must be traced to the oppression and helotism of the people. But it is impossible to deny, that a good deal also has been owing to the recklessness and despair occasioned by their abject and wretched poverty. The rights of property can never be respected by those who are themselves utterly destitute of all property, and of the means of acquiring. Such persons must rather regard them as bulwarks thrown up to secure the interests of a few favourites of fortune, or perhaps of their oppressors, than as contributing to the public welfare. But if we lighten the pressure of that grinding and unproductive taxation by which the industry of the people has been overloaded and paralysed, we shall certainly enable them to add to their comforts, and to accumulate wealth; and they will thus be brought to acquire a direct and tangible interest in the support of those great fundamental principles which they now regard either with indifference or aversion, and which the slightest provocation is sufficient to induce them to attack.

It has been the fate of Ireland to suffer nearly as much injury from the injudicious attempts that have of late been made to encourage and promote her industry, as from those that were formerly made to fetter and restrict it. The history of the Irish protecting and countervailing duties, affords a striking example of the truth of this remark. To facilitate the establishment of manufactures in Ireland, and, as it was also alleged, to prevent those already established from being ruined by the unrestricted competition of the English manufacturers, it was agreed, at the Treaty of Union, that an *ad valorem* duty of 10 per cent. should be charged, for a period of twenty years, on English cotton or woollen goods, hardware, &c., when imported into Ireland; and it was at the same time agreed, that an equal duty should be charged on the Irish goods imported into England. This measure has been productive of incalculable injury to both countries, but especially to Ireland. It appears from papers laid before the House of Commons, that the entire value of the cotton wool and twist imported into Ireland in 1819, amounted to only £21,000. Their importation has not increased since; and the whole Irish cotton manufacture is not supposed to employ, at this moment, more than from 2000 to 5000 hands! Those who are unacquainted with the real state of the case would be disposed to conclude that there must, in such circumstances, be an immense importation of British cotton goods into Ireland. In truth, however, Jersey or Guernsey are about as

good markets for them. From a return made by the Dublin Custom house to an order of the House of Commons, it appears, that the value of the English cotton goods imported into Ireland in the year ended 5th January 1821, was as follows.

Calicoes,	£. 8,817 5 0
Muslins,	22,494 17 11
Cottons, other than calicoes and muslins, ..	168,530 13 11½
	£. 199,862 16 10½

This sum, when added to the value of the cottons manufactured in Ireland, makes so small a total consumption as to be almost incredible when compared with the immense consumption of cottons in this country. We do not presume to say that this trifling consumption is altogether to be ascribed to the influence of the protecting duties; but it is impossible to doubt that they have had a very considerable effect in contracting the demand for cottons. The duty, though nominally only 10 per cent., adds, at least, 20 or 25 per cent. to the selling price of English goods. The few capitalists in Ireland, the outlay of money required to pay the duties, and the delays and vexatious regulations of the Custom House, really secure a monopoly of the business of importing *ad valorem* goods to a few rich merchants, and suppress that widely extended and most beneficial traffic that would otherwise be carried on by the retail dealers, pedlars, and even labourers, who are daily passing between the two countries; and thus, by raising the price of the goods, and throwing the trade into a few hands, the protecting duties, instead of promoting the cotton manufacture of Ireland, have prevented the introduction of a taste for cottons, and been the most effectual bar to its progress. The injury done to the English manufacturer by this perverse policy, is great; but still it is trifling compared to that which it has done to the Irish people. Destitute as Ireland is of good coal, improved machinery, and experienced workmen, it it was the height of error to suppose that a protecting duty of 10 per cent. could enable her to withstand the competition of the English in the production of cottons! The real effect of the duty has not been to promote the Irish cotton manufacture, for that, as we have just seen, can hardly be said to exist at all, but to narrow the market of Ireland to the English manufacturers, by adding 20 or 25 per cent. to the price of their goods, and, by this rise of price, to hinder the Irish peasantry from adopting the dress and modes of life of their English neighbours. The imposition of such restrictions on the trade between independent and even hostile nations, could not be defended on any principle of sound policy; but when laid on the trade between different parts of the same empire, they do not admit of the shadow of an apology. To endeavour to protect England or Ireland against the competition of the other, is plainly absurd. We might, on the same grounds, endeavour to protect Kent against the competition of Sussex! England has many natural and acquired facilities for carrying on the cotton manufacture; Ireland has none. Why then should we attempt to force a portion of her scanty and insufficient capital into, what must be to her a disadvantageous employment? And why should we force her inhabitants to rest satisfied with rags and nakedness, and to deny themselves the use of a cheap, commodious, and comfortable article of dress, because it is manufactured in Lancashire, and not in Leinster? Our statute Book affords many choice specimens of legislative drivelling, and of officious and ruinous interference with the industry of individuals and the public; but, we believe, the impolicy and absurdity of the Irish Protecting Duties to be quite unrivalled.

The countervailing duty of 10 per cent. on Irish manufactures imported into England, is equally pernicious. Had Irish manufactures been freely admitted into England since the Union, the lowness of wages in Ireland would, it may be fairly presumed, have been sufficient to induce English capitalists to attempt establishing the coarser kinds of manufactures, and such as are principally carried on by manual labour, there rather than in England. But the countervailing duty of 10 per cent. has fully balanced any advantage that might have been derived from the cheaper labour of Ireland; and has effectually excluded her manufactures from the great and contiguous market of Britain!

We have already said, that it was stipulated by the act of Union, that the Irish protecting duties, and the countervailing duties on Irish goods imported into England, were to cease in twenty years, or on the 1st of January 1821. But, to the surprise and mortification of every one acquainted with the nature and operation of these duties, they have since been continued for *twenty years to come, or to 1841!* Surely, however, it is impossible that a measure which goes far to annihilate the trade in manufactured goods between the two great divisions of the empire, can be permitted to operate for other twenty years. Parliament has been unwarily entrapped into an approval of measures fatal to the prosperity of Ireland, and prejudicial to Britain; but it would be a libel on that body to suppose that they will persist in supporting them for a long series of years, after their ruinous tendency has become palpable and obvious.

(To be continued.)

* Sir John Newport's Speech, 22d April 1822.

ASIATIC DEPARTMENT.

—29—

Supreme Court.

OPENING OF THE SECOND CRIMINAL SESSIONS,
FOR 1823.

CALCUTTA, SATURDAY, MARCH 1, 1823.

This day the Second Sessions of Oyer and Terminer of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal were opened with the usual solemnities, by the Honorable Sir Francis Macnaghten, who is again compelled to take upon him the whole Civil and Criminal business of the only King's Court in this part of India. After the accustomed formalities had been observed, the following Gentlemen were called to serve on the Grand Jury :

CHARLES SWEEBLAND, Esq. FOREMAN.

Andrew Sirling, Esq.	Francis Tipping Hall, Esq.
William Sutton, Esq.	David McFarlan, Esq.
Brown Roberts, Esq.	George Ballard, Esq.
W. Popham Palmer, Esq.	Sir Harry V. Darell, Bart.
John Shum, Esq.	Alexander Colvin, Esq.
Philip York Lindsay, Esq.	Tredway Clarke, Esq.
Roderick Robertson, Esq.	John Smith, Esq.
Edward Vernon Scholch, Esq.	John Bagshaw, Esq.
John Henry Barlow, Esq.	Joseph Dorin, Esq.
Stephen Laprimaudye, Esq.	Thomas Reid Davidson, Esq.
The Hon. C. Robert Lindsay,	Josiah John Hogg, Esq.

Having retired to elect their Foreman as above, they again came into Court and were addressed by the Judge nearly to the following effect :—

The Calendar was much on the same footing as it usually was : it presented few offences, and if it were to be taken as a criterion of the effects resulting in the habits and morals of the population from the laws as now administered, they would appear to be most salutary and efficient. But, (as we understood his Lordship,) the lightness of the Calendar did not afford a fair criterion ; as many more offences were committed than appeared there, and while houses continued to be of the same construction as at present, he did not think the people could ever be honest or property secure. His Lordship would take the opportunity of correcting a misrepresentation of what had fallen from him on the same subject some Sessions ago, when speaking of two offences that were brought to his notice. He was represented to have censured the Police Magistrates : whereas he by no means intended to cast any blame upon them. So far from the cases in question having afforded cause for such censure, they had been brought forward by means of the Police. However it would be recollected that for weeks together robberies had succeeded each other almost every night, owing to the cause already adverted to, as also partly to others which he should mention. Lately fewer robberies had occurred, but there were many more than were brought to the notice of the public. His Lordship had had his own house robbed as well as others, although not plundered of any thing of great value. In calling the attention of the Grand Jury to this subject, as he had done some sessions before, his Lordship observed, that if they would make themselves acquainted with the whole cases that occurred, many of which never came before the Court, the catalogue would astonish them, and they could not but be convinced that some measures were necessary to be adopted to increase the security of property. He wished them to keep the subject in view, and hoped their experience and local knowledge would enable them to suggest some efficient steps for the prevention of such offences.

His Lordship had consulted many persons on the subject ; and from their opinion, as well as his own reflections, his conclusion was, that there existed a deficiency in the Officers of Police in point of number. The whole Houses that came within the district under their charge being estimated at 80,000, there were at the rate of 100 houses under the care of each individual : there being, in all 800 men employed. In this state of things it was impossible property could be secure from midnight depredations, while houses are constructed as they at present are.

His Lordship alluded, we imagine, to the cutcha Houses being so easily broken open by cutting, and the puckah Houses being commonly left during the night with the doors and windows open, especially in the hot season, to allow a current of fresh air.

In conclusion, his Lordship intimated that while no better means were adopted to prevent robberies from being committed, he should not be inclined to enforce the laws rigorously against those convicted, as humanity required every means should be tried to prevent crimes before we proceed to inflict punishment.

The following is a List of the Petty Jury which serve on the Present Sessions :

PETTY JURY.

1. James Anderson,	25. John Macraen,	49. John Linton,
2. F. Burkingyoung,	26. John Low,	50. William Linton,
3. Fowler H. Bean,	27. Archibald Thomas,	51. William Black,
4. Stephen Clare,	28. John Murray,	52. John Sanders,
5. James D. Conyers,	29. Robert Campbell,	53. James Guthrie,
6. Marshall Collier,	30. Wm. Robertson,	54. Patrick Donnelly,
7. Arthur Courage,	31. John B. Plumb,	55. John Izod,
8. Robert Dykes,	32. Simon Gowsie,	56. Thomas Lynch,
9. Peter Duncan,	33. John Harvey,	57. W. Godfrey Smith,
10. William Darling,	34. M. Mackenzie,	58. William Wallis,
11. Thos. Harrowell,	35. Andrew Wilson,	59. William Bayley,
12. Robert Hastie,	36. George Poole,	60. John G. Elliot,
13. David Hare,	37. Thomas Sheppard,	61. W. Mannington,
14. Rich. Humphreys,	38. David Ronald,	62. Geo. H. Hosmer,
15. William S. Jopp,	39. Villiers Holcroft,	63. Ernest Gray,
16. James Mackintosh,	40. William Peters,	64. John P. Jones,
17. Alex. D. Mcfadyre,	41. John Douglas,	65. Samuel Wood,
18. John Miller,	42. Edward Oakes,	66. W. Oxborough,
19. Cornelius Smith,	43. Edward Tandy,	67. John Phipps,
20. George Strafford,	44. George Ackland,	68. Henry Cavendish,
21. William Smith,	45. Lucius R. Burke,	69. John Bull,
22. W. H. Twentymann,	46. Arch. Gibson,	70. John P. Edmonds,
23. Thomas Churcher,	47. F. Kirchhoffer,	71. John P. Francis,
24. James Pontet,	48. Wat. Greene,	72. Stephen Keating,

IN THE MATTER OF JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM, Esq.
LATE EDITOR OF THE CALCUTTA JOURNAL.

The Court then proceeding to Civil business, Mr. Fergusson rose to move that the Affidavit of J. S. Buckingham marked with the letter A and the Petition thereto annexed be read and filed and that it be ordered that Notice of the said Petition and Affidavit be served on the Honorable John Adam, Governor General in and for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal, and that the Complainant be at liberty to enter into a Bond with such security as is required by the statute in such case made and provided, effectually to prosecute the Complaint. The Petition is as follows :—

To the Honorable Sir Francis Macnaghten, Knight, and the Honorable Sir Anthony Buller, Knight, Justices of the said Supreme Court.

THE HUMBLE PETITION OF JAMES SILK BUCKINGHAM,
LATE EDITOR OF THE CALCUTTA JOURNAL.

SHWETH,
That your Petitioner has been greatly oppressed, aggrieved, and injured, by an Act done and an Order passed by the Honorable John Adam, Governor General, in and for the Presidency of Fort William in Bengal.

That your Petitioner hath fully stated his Complaint, in respect of the premises in the Affidavit marked A—hereunto annexed.

That your Petitioner intends to prosecute such his Complaint against the said John Adam, in some competent Court in Great Britain.

Your Petitioner therefore humbly prays, that your Lordships will be pleased to grant to your Petitioner an Order of the Supreme Court of Judicature at Fort William in Bengal aforesaid, compelling the said John Adam to produce the Copies of the Orders or Order passed by the said Governor General in Council, depriving your Petitioner of his License to reside in this Country, and also all Correspondence which may have passed between the said Governor General in Council and any Person or Persons whomsoever touching the premises, and that the same may be authenticated and Witnesses examined in this Honorable Court, upon the matter of the said Complaint and on behalf of your Petitioner, touching the same, and that the Depositions may be taken down in writing according to the provisions of the Act of Parliament made and passed in that behalf in the Twenty-first year of the Reign of his late Majesty King George the Third, your Petitioner being ready and willing to enter into a Bond and to give such Security as to this Honorable

Court shall seem meet to prosecute the said Complaint in such competent Court as aforesaid, within the time limited by the said Act of Parliament.

And your Petitioner shall ever Pray, &c.

The Affidavit stated that Mr. Buckingham the Plaintiff had come to Calcutta with a License or Certificate from the Hon. Court of Directors, to reside in India, on the faith of which he had at immense labour and expense established the CALCUTTA JOURNAL in its present footing, in which, capital was vested to the amount of about Sixty Rupees 200,000; and having brought out part of his family, had made very expensive preparations for his permanent residence in India, at least for the period of six or seven years, with a view to the superintendence of this extensive Concern, of the greater part of which he is still Proprietor. It then stated that the Honorable John Adam, the Governor General in Council, with an intent to injure him (Mr. Buckingham) had declared his License void, and compelled him to break up his private establishment, and to quit the country, to the great risk and danger of his property, and concluded with expressing his determination to prosecute the said John Adam at Law, in some competent Court in Great Britain.

The Court having assented to the motion, Mr. Buckingham was bound over with competent Sureties in the sum of Sa. Rs. 12,000, to prosecute in England.

Letter from Meerut.

Meerut, Feb. 12. 1823.—Throughout the whole belt of the mountain range the primitive despotism of the Hindoos is clearly displayed, and the tyranny of the Braminical religion, with the degrading distinction of castes, is set forth in its true light; women are used as mere property; and the want of virtue in the lower classes is notorious. It is a very common occurrence for one of the lowest of the people, to have three or four wives, whose labour is his chief support: they are treated more like beasts of burthen than as rational beings. The men having ploughed and sown the land, their labour finishes; the woman weed, reap, thrash, and prepare the corn for bread. During weeding and harvest the men lounge at home, and are unnaturally employed in nursing the young children; I have frequently seen the father taking the infant to the fields to be suckled by its mother, and when she had performed this maternal duty, the infant is again handed to its father, and the mother returns to her laborious occupation. Taking a ride one day, I went into a small village—it was the time of harvest—and I saw it full of young children: indeed they seem under our government to be increasing very fast; so much so, that a census now taken and one ten or fourteen years hence, would perhaps be highly amusing to a philosophic mind, which contemplates the comparative progress of the human species under a mild rule, and that of the vilest of all despotism.

But to return to the thread of my narrative: I was much struck by seeing fifteen or sixteen stout shabby looking fellows with young infants in their arms. I could not help reflecting the great difference the tender innocents must feel on reclining their little heads on the hard bony breasts of their awkward male nurses, instead of that natural soft pillow their mother's would have so much better and so much more naturally have supplied them with. On laughing at them and ridiculing their unnatural and unmanly employment, they admitted it, but pled custom and usage; but agreed that the labours of the field were more adapted to their sex. Among the lower castes, the wife of the elder brother is a common wife to the junior brothers, but the elder brother must not know the wife of a junior brother; if so, he becomes an outcast. I had an elder brother in my service who was married, of the cast of Lohors, and I asked him, if he knew of a connection between his wife and younger brother, would it hurt his feelings or raise any anger between him and his brother? He laughed at my question and said, who would quarrel with his brother for an act universally admitted of. The Bramins and Rajpoots deny this custom to exist among them: I have my doubts; for other castes have affirmed its existence among them, but that more secrecy in the commerce of the sexes is observed,

I have seen several villagers, who are called Paturs: they are prostitutes to the Bramins and Rajpoots, but any knowledge of any other class, is visited by a cruel death on both parties. Indeed it appears to me, that the manners of the despotic and tyrannical influence of the Braminical classes and Rajpoots: their various castes, with the whole order of society among those primitive people, would form, if well treated fund of, a valuable information for your Paper throughout the whole regions of Hindoostan. This is the only country that the Musselman rule or rather misrule never reached: and as the manners and institutes of a Hindoo people seldom or never vary, we may here expect to see the same religion and manners exist as in the time of Alexander. Had I the ability and necessary information, I should not undertake the task of treating on the institutes, religion, &c. of those people; as there can be little doubt but some of your pseudo-critics would be making some unmannerly and ignorant remarks, mistaking their own doings for information, without rectifying any mistake or furnishing any useful knowledge. I think I read those occurrences constantly in your paper, and I have no doubt you give publication oftentimes to letters on various subjects that if left entirely to your own opinion you would put a blot on. Fair and manly criticism aids knowledge and science; but carping ridicule is quite the reverse.

I hope you will excuse me from entering into this digression. A Free Press, or any thing like it, would do much. Here and there only will you have matter enough on the judicial administration of this country. How was it that in the time of the former Judge, the Cutwal of * * * in a few years amassed some lacks of rupees on a salary of 30 rupees a month? but you must not touch the mighty * * * powerful in office and friends. * * *

Mr. Mack's Tenth Lecture.

The Metallic bases of the Alkalies and Earths.—1, Potassium, —2, Sodium, —3, Lithium, —4, Calcium, —5, Barium, —6, Strontium, —7, Magnesium, —8, Silicium, —9, Aluminium, —10, Zirconium, —11, Glucium, —12, Yttrium, —13, Thorium.

The first seven of these metals produce alkaline oxides, which are very difficult of reduction, and from their powerful attraction for oxygen, rapidly decompose water at all temperatures. The last: are placed on the list from analogy six they are known only in the state of oxides, which have not hitherto been reduced.

Potassium and Sodium were discovered by Sir H. Davy in 1807. This experiment also led to the discovery of the metallic nature of the other bodies. He obtained the former by submitting Potassa to the action of voltaic electricity; which has a power of subverting chemical combinations: the metal was slowly evolved at the negative pole. Sodium was obtained in the same manner but with more difficulty. Other methods have been invented for procuring them in larger quantities. The apparatus used by Gay Lussac and Thenard, was exhibited, and the mode of operating explained by Mr. Mack. These substances are lighter than water, have a silvery appearance, and must be kept in naphtha to prevent them from attracting oxygen from the atmosphere: they burn when heated in air.

Some Potassium was thrown upon water, it took fire and burnt with a large white flame. Hydrogen Gas was evolved and Potassa was dissolved in the water, as was proved by its reddening Turmeric paper. When Potassium is put on Ice it burns with a bright flame, and a hole is formed in the Ice containing a solution of Potash.

Calcium, Barium and Strontium are formed indirectly; the Oxides or Earths are negatively electrized in contact with Mercury: an amalgam is formed, from which the Mercury is expelled by heat; they all burn when heated and exposed to the air.

The ALKALIES.—1, Potassa, —2, Soda, and 3, Lithia, have an acrid taste, they change blue vegetable juices to green, and yellow to brown; they are soluble in water and render oils miscible with

it, forming a soap; they corrode the skin, form various compounds with Acids (in which the Acid and Alkaline qualities are more or less lost) which decompose each other.

Some oil was poured upon water in a glass; they were united by means of Potassa, and the compound decomposed by Sulphuric Acid,

A jar containing Carbonic Acid was put into a solution of Potassa to shew that this Acid is absorbed by Alkalies. The Alkalies decompose Metallic Salts. A Solution of Sulphate of Iron (Green Vitriol) was decomposed by Potash.

Chlorate of Potassa.—(Oxymuriate of Potash) when mixed with Phosphorus, Sulphur, and Charcoal, produces inflammation.

Three parts of this Salt mixed with one of Sulphur detonated loudly when struck on an anvil with a hammer.

Some Sulphuric Acid was poured upon a mixture of Chlorate of Potassa and Sugar, and immediately inflamed it. A bit of Phosphorus added to some of it *under water*, was inflamed by Sulphuric Acid poured upon them through a tube.

[This is a dangerous substance. At the suggestion of Berthollet, the Gunpowder makers in France attempted to substitute it for Nitre: when they began to triturate the composition it exploded and killed two people. This Salt is an ingredient in the priming of the patent percussion gun-locks.]

Nitrate of Potash.—Nitre is made in large quantities in the Behar Province, and much is sent to London. It is proved at Apothecaries Hall. Mr. Mack stated the necessity of Merchants being acquainted with the qualities of the goods which pass thro' their hands. A Gentleman sent some Nitre of a clean kind to England and lost money by it; he afterwards sent some of a dirty kind, by which he was a considerable gainer. The quality of Nitre is ascertained by purifying it, which is done by repeated solutions and crystallizations. The different degrees of solubility of salts in hot and cold water facilitate the separation of common salt, &c.

Solution of pure Nitre is not rendered turbid either by Nitrate of Silver or Nitrate of Baryta.

Nitre easily parts with its Oxygen; it promotes the combustion of inflammable substances.

Gunpowder is a mixture of Saltpetre 75, Charcoal 13, Sulphur 10; but the proportions vary according to the uses for which it is intended: the violence of its explosion depends upon the sudden production of gaseous matter resulting from the action of the combustibles upon the Nitre.

Fulminating Powder is made 3 parts of Nitre or Saltpetre 2 of subcarbonate of Potassa, and 1 of Sulphur. If a little of this compound be heated upon a Metallic plate, it blackens, fuses and explodes with much violence.

Powder of Fusion consists of Nitre 3 parts, Sulphur 1, and saw Dust 1. If a bit of copper be put in a walnut shell with the powder, and the latter be set fire to, it will melt the copper without burning the shell.

Sulphurets are combinations of the Alkalies with Sulphur. If water be added, the smell of rotten eggs is perceived.

Sulphates are formed by the Sulphuric Acid.

Sulphate of Lime occurs native in Selenite, Gypsum, and Alabaster: the first is crystallized, the second fibrous, and the last granular or massive. It is sculptured into various beautiful forms. This salt is abundant in those waters called *hard*; and which will decompose soap.

Sulphate of Baryta is insoluble, and is produced whenever Sulphuric Acid is added to a soluble Salt of Barytes; hence the solutions of Baryta are tests of the presence of that acid.

Sulphate of Strontia is the stone called *Celestine*.

Sulphate of Magnesia or *Epsom Salt* was formerly procured from the saline springs at Epsom, but is now obtained from *Bittern* (which is the *mother water* or residue of saltwater after the Salt is separated) it contains sulphate and muriate of Magnesia, the latter is decomposed by Sulphuric Acid.

From a pint of sea-water is obtained by evaporation: Common Salt 180.5 grains, Muriate of Magnesia 23, Sulphate of magnesia 15.5, Sulphate of Lime 7.1, Total 226 1 grains.

Carbonates are combinations of the Carbonic acid, and form an important class of salts.

Carbonate of Potash is procured from a lixivium of the ashes of burnt wood and other vegetables which grow inland.

Carbonate of Soda (for the supply of England) is chiefly obtained by the combustion of marine plants and sold under the names of Barilla and Kelp; the first comes from Spain; the latter is made on the British Coasts.

[An impure Carbonate called *Sadjee Muttee* is found native in Behar.]

The carbonates are not perfectly neutral, the bicarbonates which are formed from them are more so; they are decomposed and purified by lime.

Carbonate of Lime abounds in nature and occurs in various forms, such as Spar, Chalk, Marble, &c. Lime is obtained from them by heat. When a little water is poured upon Lime a rise of temperature results from a solidification of part of the water, and the white powder obtained, called *Slacked Lime* is a hydrate. Lime is of great use as a manure, and for making mortar, &c.

Lime water exposed to the air is soon covered by a film of Carbonate of Lime, and hence becomes a test of the presence of Carbonic Acid; but excess of Carbonic Acid re-dissolves the precipitate.

The *Stalactites* which hang like icicles from the roofs of caverns; are formed by carbonate of Lime deposited from its solution in water, acidulated by Carbonic Acid.

Carbonate of Magnesia, is used as a Medicine.

Fluate of Lime or Derbyshire Spar is a beautiful substance of which many ornamental articles are made.

ALKALINE-EARTHS—4, *Lime*,—5, *Baryta*, 6 *Strontia*, and 7, *Magnesia*, are called *Alkaline Earths*, from their possessing similar properties to Alkalies.

EARTHS proper—8, *Silica*—9, *Alumina*—10, *Zyconia*,—11, *Glucina*,—12, *Ytria*—13 *Thorina*. They are incombustible and insoluble in water; Silica and Alumina are the most important. Silica is found pure in Rock Crystal.

GLASS is generally composed of Sand and fixed Alkali; Litharge is added to make it more fusible, it also increases its refractive power and enables it to bear sudden changes of temperature: Magnesia is used for removing the green tinge arising from impure Alkali.

All glass must be annealed or baked and gradually cooled, otherwise it will break; as is shewn by what are called *Rupor's* drops; the instant their end is broken off they crumble into powder with a kind of explosion.

What are called *Bologna Phials* are also made of unannealed glass; and fly to pieces when a piece of flint or other hard and angular substance is dropped into them.

ALUMINA constitutes some of the hardest gems, as the Sapphire and Ruby. Pure Alumina is obtained from Alum.

Clay is a compound of Silica and Alumina: there are four varieties of it: 1, *Porcelain Clay*,—2, *Marly Clay*,—3, *Pipe Clay*,—4, *potter's Clay*, used in the various branches of Pottery and Porcelain manufacture, which have been brought to the greatest perfection by the exertions and researches of Wedgwood, Davy and others—the coarser kinds are used for bricks, lutes, &c.

The metallic Oxides are used for painting on Porcelain and for colouring glass.

Common Salt is composed of Chlorine and Soda.

Chloride of Calcium (Muriate of Lime) is used for drying Gases, Oxymuriate of Lime is used in bleaching.

The subject for the 11th and last Lecture which will be given on Tuesday next, is ELECTRICITY. To this Lecture the Subscribers to the course will have free admission.

To Correspondents.

We beg leave to inform A BRITON, of the absolute necessity of our being in possession of his name, before we can give publicity to his letter, received last Saturday; and to assure him, that he may communicate it to us in perfect confidence.

Notice.

For the facility of Correspondence, as well as concentrating the Business of the CALCUTTA JOURNAL as much as possible within the Office itself, it is requested that all Letters intended for Mr. Buckingham in England, be addressed under cover to the Editor of the JOURNAL, in Calcutta, who will forward them by the safest and most regular channels. The Book of Transfers for Shares in the Paper is now opened, and may be referred to also by the present Shareholders, or intending Purchasers, at the Office in Bankshall Street, where all the requisite information desired on this subject will be afforded by Mr. Sandys, the present Editor of this Paper.

March 3, 1823.

Sir Edward Paget,

This fine Ship left Town on Friday last, and her Commander, proceeded early yesterday morning to join her at Fultah. Her Passengers are all on board, and seldom we think have Passengers left India for Old England with a fairer prospect of a speedy, a safe, and a most pleasant passage. The Ship herself is new, and her model bespeaks her, we understand from those who are judges in these matters, to be both a fast sailer and a good sea boat. The appointments are in every way worthy of the ship. Those who came out in her have already given her worthy Commander so high a character for professional skill and urbanity, that the Passengers going home on her are justified in placing implicit confidence on him, and in expecting from him all those little attentions to their comfort and convenience, which we understand he is so capable of bestowing, and so willing to bestow, and which so materially tend to lighten the miseries of a long sea voyage. Her accommodations are elegant, and do the highest credit to the taste of those who superintended their arrangement, and in fact every thing promises well for the happiness and safety of all going home on her. We subjoin a List of her Passengers, wishing them and the PAGET every success.

Passengers proceeding to Europe, on board the Ship SIR EDWARD PAGET, Captain J. Geary.

Mrs. Colonel G. Richards; Mrs. Smith; Mrs. Alexander; Mrs. Buckingham; Miss Williams; Miss Pigot; Miss Turner; and Miss Ross.—Lieutenant-Colonel G. Richards, Bengal Native Infantry; Lieutenant-Colonel L. O'Brien, Bengal Native Cavalry; James More, Esq. Civil Service; A. Ross, Esq. Civil Service; A. McCann, Esq. Civil Service; Captain Smith, Bengal Cavalry; J. S. Buckingham, Esq. late Editor of the CALCUTTA JOURNAL; and J. Donay, Esq.—Children:—Misses C. Richards, S. Richards, L. Smith, M. Smith, and F. Thompson.—Masters H. Money, George Money, Alexander Morton, George Morton, Robert Smith, and Henry Alexder.—Five Female Native Servants, and Eight Male Native and European Servants.

Penang, Feb. 8.—Accounts have been received by the MERMAID of the arrival of the DAPHNE, Captain Chatfield, at Manila, which place it is said was in a great agitation for some time previously from disturbance among the populace; but the arrival of the New Governor and one hundred Military Officers from Spain, had restored quiet and tranquillity. Seventeen persons have been arrested and sent on board a Vessel taken up for the purpose of conveying them to Spain to be tried for a Conspiracy to assassinate the Governor.

Birth.

At Cawnpore, on the 16th ultimo, the Lady of W. W. BIRD, of a Daughter.

Death.

At St. Thomas's Mount, Madras, on the 16th ultimo, Major ALEXANDER MACLEOD, Commanding the 1st Battalion 9th Native Infantry.

Selections.

Bombay, Feb. 12.—On Friday last, His Excellency the Commander in Chief attended by his Staff and accompanied by a select party of friends, left the Presidency on a visit to the Out Stations, under the honors due to his rank. We are concerned to state, that His Excellency met with an accident the following morning whilst ascending the Ghaut, occasioned by his horse making a slip and falling instantaneously under him. We are happy, however, in being enabled to add, that although His Excellency suffered very considerable pain from a bruise on the ancle, he did not sustain any serious injury, but proceeded on his route towards Poonah, after a few hours halt at Kandallah.

Ceylon, Feb. 4.—By the Portuguese ship ANGELICA, we have received a copy of the Edict issued by the Vice Roy of Canton on the subject of the Fire in that City. We have heard that the East India Company has not suffered so extensively as before reported.

Proclamation.—By the Foeyuen, published November 14th 1822, not communicated by the Merchants, but obtained privately.

Ching, a member of the military board at Peking, a Censor belonging to the board of General inspection, a Tituck of Canton Province and Superintendent of the Train Taxje,

Hereby issues a general proclamation with the utmost earnestness on a most important subject.—On the 18th and 19th day, of the 9th moon of this Year, in consequence of a fire occasioned by a Shopman, when a mad wind blew and the fire became furious, it was impossible for man's strength, to produce any effect, in arresting the progress of the flames. They spread and consumed Shops, Houses and Hong, to a number that exceeded 2400, and maimed and wounded men to the amount of several times ten, and destroyed the property of merchants and foreigners to the value of several hundreds of thousands.—The flowery gaiety and glory of Canton, was all at once consumed, like the gaudy insect that makes into the burning flame.—Such an event has not taken place for several hundred years. You, Gentlemen, Merchants poor Natives and Foreigners, who have suffered this heaven sent Calamity are not the only persons whose hearts are grieved and wounded. I the Foeyuen, since my ears heard it, and my eyes saw it, have not for a moment ceased to feel bodily pain, and mental anguish on account of it.—But the proverb says of every drunk and every filled cup, there are none that are not previously fixed by fate, this judgment of fire was no doubt occasioned by the influence of the destined miracle of the Pearl river (which runs past the City and Suburbs.)

But I desire that you all, Gentlemen, Merchants, poor Native and Foreigners, will every one quietly submit, to a righteous destiny; do not sorrow, grieve, lament and sigh, you must not repine at Heaven, nor criminate man, and so in vain add to your trouble, and vexation. But it is incumbent on you to receive the warning from Heaven above. Repent of your sins—examine yourselves, and always preserve impressed on your minds the four words, Heavenly principles, good heart, and really acting according to these, you will not be ashamed before the discerning God, and no doubt the high Heaven will silently assist you, and how do you know but that the residue left, by the fiery flames, shall rise again in piles of gold, and heaps of gems, and riches and honour; you that have power are hereby commanded to hasten and rebuild, on the original site and foundation, which you must not overstep, to encroach on your neighbours, for if you do so great an offence, you will be prosecuted and punished without mercy. As to the Poor who have been burnt out, and have no dwelling, I have directed the local magistracy, to hasten, and draw out a list of the names, and give grain, and exercise compassion, and of those criminals who availed themselves of the fire, to rob and plunder many, have been taken, and will severely be punished and a new search has been commenced for those not yet seized, so that not one of them may escape the net. I have also appointed an additional number of officers and troops to patrol the streets, night and day, that if hereafter any should act as incendiaries, or robbers, it is allowed to country Gent. Scholars, to Merchants and poor Natives, Constables and Watchmen, to join the Military Officers and Soldiery to seize the culprits, to present them before the Magistrates, and if the charge be proved, they will on the spot be immediately cudgelled to death. As to the foreigners who have in barks passed over seas several times ten thousand miles to come to our Celestial Empire to trade, in one morning, their goods have been consumed by fire, and they have no settled place to roost nor rest, a case indeed much to be pitied. I hereby command all the Hong Merchants to act as is safe, for the foreigners, and settle them in tranquil situations, that none of them may be destitute of a place to live in.

Let all the Military Officers, Country Gentlemen, Merchants, poor Natives and Foreigners, whom this may concern, yield obedience thereto; do not oppose.

A special Proclamation—Tauskuang 2 years, 10 M, 2 days, November 15th, 1822,